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Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat meets with Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu yesterday in Davos. (Avi Ahayon/GPO)

PM, Arafat to meet Thursday at Erez

Levy: Hizbullah has received 30 Iranian planeloads of weapons since Grapes of Wrath

By DAVID MAKOVSKY and news agencies

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat agreed yesterday in Davos, Switzerland, to meet again at the Erez junction on Thursday as the first step toward launching the security-related panels reached as part of the Hebron accord.

However, it remains unclear whether Israel is sufficiently organized to have assembled negotiating teams needed for dealing with the issues at hand: the PA establishment of both an airport and seaport in Gaza; safe passage for Palestinians between Gaza and the West Bank; and release of Palestinian prisoners.

In a panel session last night at the World Economic Forum's conference,

which is bringing together more than 1,000 corporate executives to meet with world leaders, Arafat complained that Israel is hurting the PA's economy and that Israel owes the PA hundreds of millions of dollars in tax rebates.

In his remarks, Netanyahu heralded Israel as one of the great high-tech centers of the world and predicted that Israel's gross national product per capita—currently at about \$16,000—will double within the next 10 years.

Meanwhile, in a speech to Jewish activists in Paris yesterday, Foreign Minister David Levy said that an estimated 30 Iranian planes have landed at Damascus airport since the end of Operation Grapes of Wrath, with weaponry destined for Hizbullah in southern Lebanon. US officials confirm that until the military operation last spring, about three Iranian planes per

year landed in Damascus, but since the operation, this figure has grown to about three per month. The exact contents of the planes remain largely unknown, but they are thought to include Katyusha rockets and ammunition.

Netanyahu held separate meetings with Arafat and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak yesterday, as all three are attending the conference at the Swiss resort. The Mubarak-Netanyahu meeting is their first since the two met in Cairo, when their relationship subsequently deteriorated as the Egyptian leader accused Netanyahu of bad faith over the Hebron talks.

Mubarak emerged from the meeting with Netanyahu optimistic that a common basis for the resumption of talks between Israel and Syria will be established.

Continued on Page 2

Hebron's Shuhada Street to be partially opened to Palestinians today

By JON IMMANUEL and HERB KEINON

Part of Hebron's Shuhada Street is to be opened to Palestinian emergency vehicles, municipal vehicles and taxis on a regular basis from today. This is the first stage in restoring the street to normal use.

The open area will be a one-way, 150-meter section from Gross Square, near the Abraham Avinu Quarter, to the Padesco Gas station and then past Beit Romano toward the market, the IDF said.

In further stages over the next three or four months the rest of the street will be opened to regular traffic and business. It was closed off at both ends after the massacre of 29 Moslem worshippers at the Machpela Cave three years ago generated fears of revenge attacks against settlers.

Military sources said the IDF is considering placing a protective

wall in front of Beit Hadassah and neighboring buildings to maintain their security after that section of the street is opened.

The opening of the street was agreed upon in the original 1995 Hebron guidelines which granted civil administration in all of Hebron to the Palestinian Authority. The principle was reiterated in the revised accord, after protracted talks circumscribed the PA's civil authority in order to strengthen the security of the Jews living there.

Several buildings housing Jews, including Beit Hadassah, Beit Schneerson and Beit Hasson are located on Shuhada Street, renamed King David Street under Israeli rule. The street also links the busy intersection of Bab el-Zawiye, which is under full Palestinian control in H-1, with the Jewish quarter at Abraham Avinu.

The same principle that required the reopening of Shuhada Street

was also invoked in permitting the construction of housing in the casbah area near Abraham Avinu. But last week OC Central Command Maj.-Gen. Uzi Dayan ordered Palestinian construction and renovation work on 122 houses stopped.

The PA said it would ignore the order and demanded it be revoked. "Hebron is one city. H-1 and H-2 are symbols of security control, not of division. If it was divided, then Uzi Dayan could say no one has the right to build without his permission, but it is not divided. I hope he will change his mind," said Ahmed Qurie, speaker of the Palestinian Legislative Council and chief Oslo I negotiator.

Meanwhile, Hebron settlement leaders yesterday decried the decision to open Rehov Shuhada, asking why the road is being opened now, less than a month after the Hebron redeployment agreement, when the agreement gives Israel four months to open the road grad-

ually. "It seems the government is intent on fulfilling their obligations to Arafat, but forgetting their obligations to us, such as ensuring that we can live in security," said settlement spokesman David Wilder.

Hebron settlement head Noam Arnon said a small "token" demonstration against the opening of the road is scheduled for today, and a larger protest action, which he would not spell out, is planned for later in the week.

Hebron settlers have waged an exhaustive campaign for months against the road, saying that opening it to Palestinian traffic will present a security risk, since the road runs immediately in front of the Jewish compounds in the city, and will clog the one artery out of the city that is open to Jewish traffic.

"You can't close us into a ghetto, and then clog up our one street," Arnon said.

Qurie: PA to build legislative council building in Al-Bireh

By JON IMMANUEL

Work is to begin this year on a new building for the Palestinian Legislative Council and \$2 million has been allotted for the project, council speaker Ahmed Qurie said yesterday.

Qurie said the building, in Al-Bireh, would not be the permanent home of the council, which would eventually move to Jerusalem.

He did not rule out the possibility that Al-Bireh, which almost touches the municipal boundaries of Jerusalem, could itself become part of a greater Jerusalem.

"That is something which can be discussed later," he said. But after the permanent status of Jerusalem is decided, he said he expected "the council will be inside the Old City."

The reasoning behind the decision to build a home for the council in Al-Bireh, which forms

one urban unit with Ramallah, is that Ramallah is "an important city also" and it needs a cultural center. When the legislative council vacates it, there will be other uses for the building, he said.

Currently, the council usually meets in Gaza or Ramallah.

In a wide-ranging interview to be published later this week, Qurie said the Palestinians have the right to declare statehood on May 5, 1999, whether or not agreement is reached. That is because the Oslo accords, which he negotiated on the Palestinian side, expressly state the final settlement talks will end by May 4, 1999, "not exceeding five years" from the implementation of the accords in Gaza and Jericho on May 4, 1994.

Qurie said that on the last day of the Oslo negotiations he insisted on inserting those words to make clear there was a firm time limit for the final-settlement talks.

Hoover feared Einstein invented laser gun

By TOM GROSS

A newly compiled list of files and memoranda in the archives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation show just how far the fantasies of its former boss, J. Edgar Hoover, went.

The files, reported in yesterday's London *Sunday Times*, reveal Hoover was under the impression that Albert Einstein had invented an incredible new "laser weapon" which was so powerful that "through it 500 people could rule a nation."

The file cites an "informant's report" which says Einstein and "10 former Nazi research brain-trusters" had met in a secret location, where they donned asbestos suits and observed as a beam of light melted down a steel block "as quickly as the light switch in any home could be turned on."

"The atomic bomb," it says, "was little-boy stuff compared to this new development."

The FBI kept a huge file on Einstein which totaled 1,427 pages, according to the recently released

papers. He was reported to have used his home in Germany as a



J. Edgar Hoover

cable address for Soviet agents.

Einstein was not the only celebrity Hoover went to extraordinary lengths to keep tabs on. The files also reveal that instead of spending all their energy fighting organized crime, the FBI amassed intelligence information on such "security threats" as Pablo Picasso—who was denied a visa to enter the US after the Cuban Communist Party used one of his paintings as their emblem—and Marilyn Monroe, who it alleged held "sex parties" with then attorney-general Robert Kennedy. The FBI even intercepted a birthday greeting sent to Picasso by Charlie Chaplin.

The files also show the FBI enlisted celebrities to aid in surveillance operations. Among those who agreed to help were John Wayne, Ernest Hemingway and Elvis Presley.

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Court cancels planned firings

Setback for Haifa Chemicals' management

By DAVID RUDGE

The Haifa District Labor Court yesterday cancelled the decision by Haifa Chemicals management to dismiss 124 of the firm's 500 employees.

Committee, led by chairman Eli Goldschmidt, visited the Haifa Chemicals bayside plant yesterday and tried to rescue the stalled negotiations between management and workers.

on Thursday on the Histadrut's petition against a National Labor Court decision cancelling the collective agreement at the factory.

Yediot-Ma'ariv wiretapping case takes new twist:

Laufer reportedly looking to block admission of testimony

By RAINE MARCUS

Private investigator Ze'ev Laufer, who Ma'ariv paid \$600,000 to give evidence implicating Yediot Aharonot, may ask Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court to conduct a mini-trial on the admissibility of his evidence, sources said yesterday.

Ya'acov Tsur on behalf of Yediot and others, did not have a defense attorney until now. However, following the appointment of two defense lawyers, sources said, he may be regretting evidence he gave to police and the district attorney against Yediot security officer Haim Rozenberg and the daily's publisher Arnon Mozes.

with Arnon Mozes over control of the daily; Tami and Judy Mozes, Arnon Mozes's sisters; and Oded Mozes, as part of the internal family war within Yediot.

Nurses call strike at most hospitals

By JUDY SEGEL

Nurses at most of the general hospitals will hold a "general strike" tomorrow due to severe crowding in these institutions. Union head Hana Cohen said the nurses could no longer carry out their responsibilities professionally due to the 140 percent to 150 percent capacity of departments and patients being forced to lie on beds in the corridors.

In letters to the prime minister, finance minister and health minister last week, Cohen accused Treasury officials of being responsible for the deterioration in the hospitals since September, when it agreed to negotiate the matter of updating 13-year-old official nursing standards.

all staffers sign a no-strike clause as part of their contract.



Sima Ohayon joins a protest outside the Beit She'an Engines factory yesterday, which was temporarily closed to workers by management due to a lack of orders.

Beit She'an Engines workers demand right to go back to work

By DAVID RUDGE

Anxious employees of the Beit She'an Engines factory in the development town demonstrated outside the plant yesterday to press for the right to be able to continue working.

been reduced and so have the number of workers. Now there aren't even enough orders to keep us employed," said the 45-year-old father of three.

ees from the nearby Milkman dairy, which is owned by Thuva, after rumors spread through the plant yesterday that Thuva intends to sell or close the factory.

said they had sent letters to the prime minister, the defense minister and Foreign Minister David Levy, himself a resident of Beit She'an, urging them to intervene and prevent the threatened closure of the engines factory and the Milkman dairy.

Tel Aviv, the wheezy city?

By HELEN KAYE

The Israel Union for Environmental Defense (IUED) will be monitoring air and noise pollution at various locations around Tel Aviv for a week beginning next Sunday.

monitoring stations whose range is limited.

The IUED maintains that only the threat of legal action galvanized the Tel Aviv Municipality to publish the data on air pollution which it had refused to give the organization on the grounds that the figures were an internal matter.

book department

The Cambridge Illustrated History of BRITISH THEATRE
by Simon Trussler

Available illustrated in the best tradition of the Cambridge University Press, this 404 pp. volume presents a social and cultural history of Britain as much as a description of actors, directors, designers and authors.

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Actor Yosef Millo, 81

Actor Yosef Millo died yesterday at the age of 81. Millo, who was one of the founders of the Cameri Theater and the Haifa Municipal Theater, also was a renowned director and wrote children's plays. His funeral will take place today in Jerusalem.

Histadrut leadership fires Na'amat head Friedman from finance committee

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

The Histadrut leadership yesterday dismissed Na'amat Chairperson Ofra Friedman (Labor) from the Histadrut's finance committee, despite the objection of Labor's members in the leadership.

former chairman Haim Ramon left in mid-term.

lion to 7.5m. — while continuing to transfer large sums of money to the bankrupt Hapoel sports association.

LIBI - The Fund for Strengthening Israel's Defense

Libi offers grateful thanks to The British Friends of Israeli War Disabled

During their visit to Israel, representatives of the British Friends of Israeli War Disabled, President, Mrs. Ann Randall, Chairman, Mr. Brian Harris, this week paid a visit to the Air Force Rescue and Evacuation Unit, where they dedicated a stand-by vehicle they have donated.

This vehicle will make it possible to reduce the time needed to get medical crews to their helicopter, for missions to evacuate IDF wounded.

This generous donation is just one item in a long list of contributions of medical equipment donated by the organization to the IDF Medical Corps.

Standing in front of the donated vehicle (from left to right): BFIWD representatives - Mr. Daniel Caspi, Mr. Brian Harris, Mr. Leoni Laboff, Mr. Gerald Levy, Mrs. Ann Randall, and Dr. Gidi Sahar; Libi representatives - Col. Meir Blayer, and Lieut. Col. Dvora Ritnot.

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Corsican separatists mount 58-bomb show of force

By SYLVIE FLORENCE
 AJACCIO, Corsica (Reuters) - Corsican separatist guerrillas defied a French government crackdown to mount a show of force on the Mediterranean island yesterday, exploding 58 mostly tiny bombs in a few hours.
 No one was injured in the pre-dawn blitz and damage was mostly limited to smashed windows or damaged doorways at post offices, tax offices and other symbols of French state authority in towns and villages.
 The outlawed Corsican National Liberation Front (FLNC) Historic Wing, seeking to prove it has not been crushed by the detentions of three political leaders in recent weeks, said it planned the 58 bombs and four others that failed to explode.
 "The future lies in struggle," it said in a statement, accusing the center-right French government of

betrayal and reiterating calls for greater autonomy for the island. "We will have multiple struggles, both in Corsica and in Europe." It was the most violent night on the tourist island since February 9 last year, when the Resistenza separatist group staged 50 blasts and attempted bombings. On one night in August 1982, more than 100 bombs exploded.
 Police did not report any arrests despite security bolstered by police reinforcements from the mainland. The government has pledged to crack down on 20 years of separatist violence on the island of 250,000 people.
 Most bombs were in remote rural areas where gendarmes mount only sporadic patrols with one bomb in the main town, Ajaccio. Investigators reckoned 120 to 150 people were involved in the attacks, planting sticks of dynamite with slow-burning fuses. Corsican guerrillas have never

been taken as seriously as Irish Republican Army guerrillas in Northern Ireland or ETA Basque separatists in Spain, partly because they deliberately seek to avoid casualties and are deeply divided over their tactics and goals.
 Opinion polls show most people on Corsica, the birthplace of Napoleon, do not want full independence from France but many favor separatist goals of a greater role for Corsican language and culture.
 Most of yesterday's blasts were in the north of the island. Many occurred between 4:30 a.m. and 5:30 a.m., targeting 13 post offices, state-run banks, chambers of commerce, two Air France offices and other state-run buildings.
 There were a total of 574 bomb attacks in 1996 and 602 in 1995, but prosecutors say many were linked to organized crime.



Your move
 Two students play chess as hundreds of their colleagues block one of the main streets in the Bulgarian capital during a protest against the socialist party yesterday. Protesters blocked main roads around Bulgaria yesterday as leaders of the ruling Socialist party met to try to form a new government, ignoring four weeks of daily opposition rallies and calls for immediate elections. (Reuters)

Pakistan president promises free poll

By RAJA ASGHAR
 ISLAMABAD (Reuters) - Pakistani President Farooq Leghari vowed yesterday to hold free and fair elections today but ousted prime minister Benazir Bhutto said she feared vote-rigging.
 "By tomorrow night, we will, God willing, complete the process of free, fair and transparent elections," Leghari said in a televised address to the nation, hours before the polls open at 7:00 a.m. Bhutto's main rival, former prime minister Nawaz Sharif, said he was confident of winning the election. Opinion polls put him as the front runner.
 Leghari, who sacked Bhutto's government three months ago on charges of corruption and misuse, asked people to vote "wisely and selflessly" today.
 He said a government giving

good governance could justly expect to complete its tenure "but a government which is reckless and irresponsible will not be forgiven by the people." Bhutto said at her family village of Nuadero in the southern province of Sindh she had reports that the caretaker government planned to rig the vote in 63 constituencies of the 217-seat National Assembly (lower house) and that she would not accept the result if it happened.
 Sharif said he was counting on a comfortable majority in the National Assembly.
 He said tackling Pakistan's dire economic problems would be his first priority if elected prime minister.
 "He told Reuters in his home city of Lahore that repairing the economy would be a long, difficult task, but he was confident Pakistan could become an 'Asian

Tiger."
 "The economy is in very bad shape because of the mismanagement of the Benazir Bhutto government," he said.
 Bhutto, who received a tumultuous welcome from crowds as she drove to Nuadero, said Pakistan was in "a terrible economic crisis" that only her Pakistan People's Party (PPP) could tackle.
 She said she had written to Chief Election Commissioner Fakhre Alam about her fears of vote-rigging and asked him to stop this from happening.
 Bhutto said she would not accept the result if it did not reflect the results of the 1988 and 1993 elections, which she had won. "If there is rigging, the nation will not accept the result." Alam said his commission had made arrangements to hold fair elections and he expected a good turnout of voters.

Report: Former Chirac deputy oversaw shipment of Jews in 1942

PARIS (AP) - A longtime deputy of President Jacques Chirac was responsible for "maintaining order" over a shipment of Jews from occupied France to a German death camp during World War II, a magazine reported.
 The report, in the weekly *Le Point* dated Saturday, comes amid renewed debate over Vichy France's treatment of Jews and a week after a French court ordered the trial of a former Vichy official.
 The German forces deported 75,000 Jews from France to Nazi death camps during the Vichy regime. Only 2,500 survived.
Le Point said Michel Junot, a deputy to then-Paris Mayor Chirac from 1977 to 1995, was a high-ranking official under the pro-Nazi Vichy government whose responsibility included the Pithiviers internment camp, 70 km. south of Paris.
 In an interview with the magazine, Junot, now 80, admitted to being the region's deputy prefect under the Vichy regime, but said he "had no authority over the camp." Citing Vichy documents, though, including some written by Junot, *Le Point* said he was in charge of "maintaining order" over the September 20, 1942, shipment of 1,000 interned French and foreign Jews, including 163 children.
 "I have the honor of letting you know that I have just been advised that a shipment of 1,000 Israelites ... will take place tomorrow," Junot wrote in a formal request for additional police to oversee the departure.
 Two days later, Junot wrote, "I had certain fears regarding the possibility of incidents that could have had repercussions during the departure. There was nothing, and the greatest calm never ceased to reign over the city." The September 20 shipment of Jews from Pithiviers was sent to Drancy, north of Paris, and then to Auschwitz, *Le Point* said.
 Junot told *Le Point* he knew the camp held "communists... and there were foreign Jews," but said he did not know their destination.
 "The rumors said they were sending them to work in the salt mines in Poland," he said. "We imagined they were not going on an agreeable

vacation. But I never learned about the existence of the extermination camps until 1945." Junot defended members of the Vichy regime as "conscientious," and said it held few who collaborated with the Germans.
 "The men of Vichy, in the great majority, did their work conscientiously, honestly, more or less skillfully," he told *Le Point*.
 The *Le Point* report comes a week after France's highest court ordered former Vichy official Maurice Papon, 86, to stand trial for crimes against humanity.

Papon is accused of ordering the arrest and deportation of 1,690 French Jews between 1942 and 1944, and is only one of a handful of Vichy officials to face justice.
 "I find it curious, 50 years later, the renewal of passionate interest for this dramatic period, since during the 50s everything seemed to have been said," Junot, who also served in the French parliament from 1958 to 1962, told *Le Point*.
 "If there were French who made errors, or sometimes committed crimes during this era, I think there is a discreet veil of history," he said.

Italy confirms holding valuables from Shoah

ROME (AP) - The Italian government has traced five crates of gold and valuables apparently taken from Jewish victims of the Nazis in World War II, an official said yesterday.
 The trunks are being held in a storage vault of the Treasury Ministry in Rome, and were located after an inquiry by the Jewish community of Trieste, said Michele De Feis, prefect of the northeastern Italian city.
 The items - including rings, jewels, watches and gold dental fillings - may have belonged to Jews who died in the only Nazi concentration camp on Italian soil, at a converted rice-husking plant in Trieste, said De Feis, who as prefect is the national government's top local representative.
 The Milan daily *Corriere della Sera* said the valuables came from Jewish homes looted by the Nazis, who occupied Trieste in the latter part of the war. De Feis, in a telephone interview, said the value of the items was unclear.
 According to documents in Trieste archives, the Jewish community asked for the articles to be returned in 1962, but the government refused "because it could not be proved [they] actually belong to Jews," the official said. Some items already had been returned in 1958, he said.
 The Jewish community renewed their inquiry in December, and the Treasury Ministry confirmed the existence of the trunks on Friday, De Feis said.
 The items had been transported by the Nazis to Austria but were recovered shortly after the war.
 The issue has become prominent lately with reports that Switzerland acted as a major launderer of Nazi gold, much of it looted from Jews.

Cosby on road to recovery

WEST PALM BEACH, Florida (AP) - In his first live performance since his son was killed, Bill Cosby compared his grief to the way he felt when Martin Luther King Jr. and President Kennedy were assassinated.
 "Then, as now, the comedian and TV actor said, somebody needed to make people laugh during a somber time."
 "As an entertainer, it seemed like something should happen to help break the spirit," he said on Saturday night.
 He told a crowd of 2,200 people at the Kravis Center for the Performing Arts that he was not afraid to return to work.
 "This is not difficult for me because a part of my lifetime is you all," he said.

Charles reportedly wants 'honest life' with Camilla

LONDON (Reuters) - Prince Charles is preparing to start a more open life with his mistress, Camilla Parker Bowles, and the couple could eventually appear regularly together in public, a newspaper reported yesterday.
 The *Sunday Times* report was dismissed as speculation by a spokeswoman for the Prince of Wales, the heir to the throne.
 Earlier this month, the *Daily Mirror* quoted an unnamed member of staff at Highgrove, the prince's west of England house, saying Parker Bowles had been allocated a bedroom there.
 Since Charles divorced Princess Diana last year, there has been speculation he would like to marry Parker Bowles.
 But such a move could harm his chances of becoming king when his mother, Queen Elizabeth, dies.
 Charles was reported three weeks ago to have admitted to falling the British monarchy and vowing to "sort the whole bloody mess out" by reaching out more to ordinary people.

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Thursday March 6	A DAY LIKE NO OTHER Israel is not associated with heavy industry, and yet... This tour will visit the Haifa Bay, including the Oil Refineries, the Kila Aluminium Works, the shipyards, workshops and navy base, plus a boat tour of the bay. We bet you've never seen this part of Israel. NIS 190 (including lunch) Tour guides: Dr. Yoash Zohar
Monday March 17	LAND OF MILK AND HONEY Cheese, honey, olive oil and wine - we'll taste them all on our way. We'll start at the organic dairy of Kila, and continue on to the olive oil press at the Druse village of Yanuah, then the prize-winning Dalton winery. We'll also visit the bee hives of Shadmot Dvora and its silk production unit. The Galilee is especially beautiful at this time of the year. Join us! NIS 215 (including lunch) Tour guides: Israel Shalem
Tuesday March 25	IRISES ARE BLOOMING IN GILBOA Every year in March it happens. Irises cover Mt. Gilboa. They are the largest, most beautiful and colorful, and some are yellow. We'll visit Nahal Toot on the trail of lupins, the "Cyclamen Hill" of Gilad and Givat Hamoreh. Lunch at Kibbutz Tirat Zvi. NIS 185 (including lunch) Tour guides: Nagar Leshner
Thursday April 3	ACRE - THE CRUSADER CITY In July 1099, after they had captured Jerusalem, the Crusaders realized they needed a port with a major harbor. So they turned this small city into an important Crusader stronghold. The markets filled with goods, cloth, jewels and precious stones, for the troops to take home as souvenirs. We'll visit the Hospitallers Quarter and view the new discoveries, the Genoa Quarter - little Italy in the Holy Land, the Templars Quarter, the Turkish Baths and more. NIS 175 Tour guides: Danny Syon
Thursday April 24	IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE SANHEDRIN The Bar-Kochba Revolt failed. 600,000 Jews died. Jerusalem was destroyed. Jews were sold as slaves, and Torah study came to an end. But a new center arose in the Galilee, and the towns of Zippori and Tiberias became famous. We'll visit them, as well as Beit Shearim, the burial place of Rabbi Yehuda Hanasi and his family. NIS 215 (including lunch) Tour guides: Danny Wells

The tour price includes transportation from Jerusalem or Tel Aviv and return, entrance to all sites, background lectures and on-the-spot explanations. Lunch as indicated. 10% off when you book all five tours. Pick-up and drop-off along the route when possible and arranged beforehand.

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Sunday, February 2, 1997 Vol. CXLVI—No. 50,691 Copyright © 1997 The New York Times

Human Rites

Africa's Culture War: Old Customs, New Values

By HOWARD W. FRENCH

FOR 16 years, Mark Wisdom, a 54-year-old Baptist preacher and a native Ghanaian, has been waging a lonely campaign to end a form of slavery here as old as the culture of the Ewe peasants inhabiting the dusty villages of this poor corner of Ghana.

Ancient Ewe religious custom holds that for serious offenses like murder, rape and theft, the spirits can be appeased only by the enslavement of young virgins from the offender's family in the shrines of traditional priests. While hardly legal, the bondage of such girls, including their sexual enslavement to the priests, is a custom whose roots run far deeper than the paper-thin veneer of Western law that nominally governs life in this west African nation.

Three hours away in Ghana's modern capital, Accra, responding to recent press reports that have brought the practice of ritual slavery to light, legislators have been debating how to eradicate a custom that may victimize as many as 10,000 girls. But Mr. Wisdom knows better than to expect

On female genital mutilation, the West's hectoring backfires.

much from this; if laws and Government proclamations were enough to truly change the way people live, he said, Africa would already be a much different place.

"Africa's traditions were formed over many generations," he said. "It is not enough to be disgusted with practices like these. It requires very gradual persuasion and lots of patient work to make people change their ways."

Mr. Wisdom's campaign against slavery — not to mention witchcraft, demon worship and ritual sacrifice — is emblematic of a much broader struggle taking place across Africa. Throughout much of the continent, from the ritual slavery of the Ewe to female genital mutilation — to polygamy, ancient practices that strike both Westerners and many Africans as abhorrent coexist side by side with modernity, and show no sign of imminent abandonment.

The clash between modern values shaped by colonialism and contact with the West and ancestral ones is by no means unique to Africa. In China, for example, the last imperial eunuch only recently died, and in rural villages elderly women whose feet were bound as infants can still be found, relics of another time. Under the harsh interpretation of Islamic law governing Afghanistan today, criminals are often punished with amputation.

But in Africa, where crushing poverty is more widespread than anywhere else and the inroads of literacy are minimal, many



A 12-year-old girl, given up as a slave to atone for a crime by a member of her family, stands at the beck and call of a traditional priest in Tefie, Ghana.

seemingly anachronistic customs appear destined to die the slowest of deaths. While rationalism and gradual progress are taken for granted in the West, they have very little bearing on views of the world shaping life in much of Africa. Here clinging to the belief that death is the result of evil spells rather than accidents or disease provides comfort in a world where life is short and, for many, brutish still.

There are few better examples of the strong hold of old views than in Sierra Leone, another west African nation, where a small group of women has been working, with little success so far, to end the practice of female genital mutilation.

Female genital mutilation or circumcision involves the excision of the clitoris and the cutting of other genital parts to diminish sexual pleasure and supposedly thus insure

the woman's fidelity to husband and family. While it exists in many African societies, elsewhere on the continent it is usually confined to specific regions or ethnic groups. In Sierra Leone, as many as 90 percent of women are thought to suffer the practice, making it easy to isolate the few who advocate its abolition as a suspect and foreign-influenced fringe.

Defenders of the Ancient

When a newspaper in the capital, Freetown, launched a series of articles against the custom, it became the target of a hostile protest movement by a group of women sworn to defend the rite. Since then, conservative elements in Sierra Leonean society, mostly led by women, have enjoyed great success drumming up support for genital

mutilation, warning against outsiders who seek to impose alien values.

"Almost nothing is happening to stop circumcision," fumed Claudia Anthony, a reporter at the newspaper, For Di People (the name is in the local creole), who has often written on the subject. "No one wants to speak out. People are afraid of taking unpopular measures."

Ms. Anthony's complaint is echoed by frustrated foreign diplomats. "This kind of practice is just plain wrong," one United Nations official in Sierra Leone said. "When are we going to see some Sierra Leonean women, articulate people who have undergone this experience themselves, step forward and condemn it?"

As satisfying as placing a country on an international blacklist might be for some, many Africans who oppose genital mutila-

tion and other traditional rites warn that such a tack would be counterproductive.

"For me, you cannot bring a Western approach, lecturing people about their customs," said Zainab Bangura, a women's rights advocate in Sierra Leone. "The more you decide you are going to take something like this on, the more you are going to face resistance. Instead, a dialogue has to be established, and women here have to understand that Sierra Leone is part of a global community and should not be left out."

Mrs. Bangura said ending female genital mutilation in her country would require an understanding of some of the rituals that surround it, and even rehabilitating them. Traditionally, she said, genital mutilation was the culmination of a months-long retreat

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Republicans in Transition

Corporate Welfare's New Enemies

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE JOHN R. KASICH, one of the standard-bearers in the Republican war on the welfare state, tells a story about an encounter he had recently with a business executive in Texas.

The man complained that doing business in Poland might no longer be profitable if Mr. Kasich succeeded in scrapping a Government program that subsidizes companies investing overseas.

Mr. Kasich says he replied: "I remember during the welfare debate when people stood up and said that if we passed these welfare programs, two million children would end up in poverty. You were one of the people who said, 'It's worth the gamble to change welfare.'"

The man nodded. Mr. Kasich continued: "How can you expect me to tell you that I don't want to risk the fact that you may not get a loan that helps your business in Poland?"

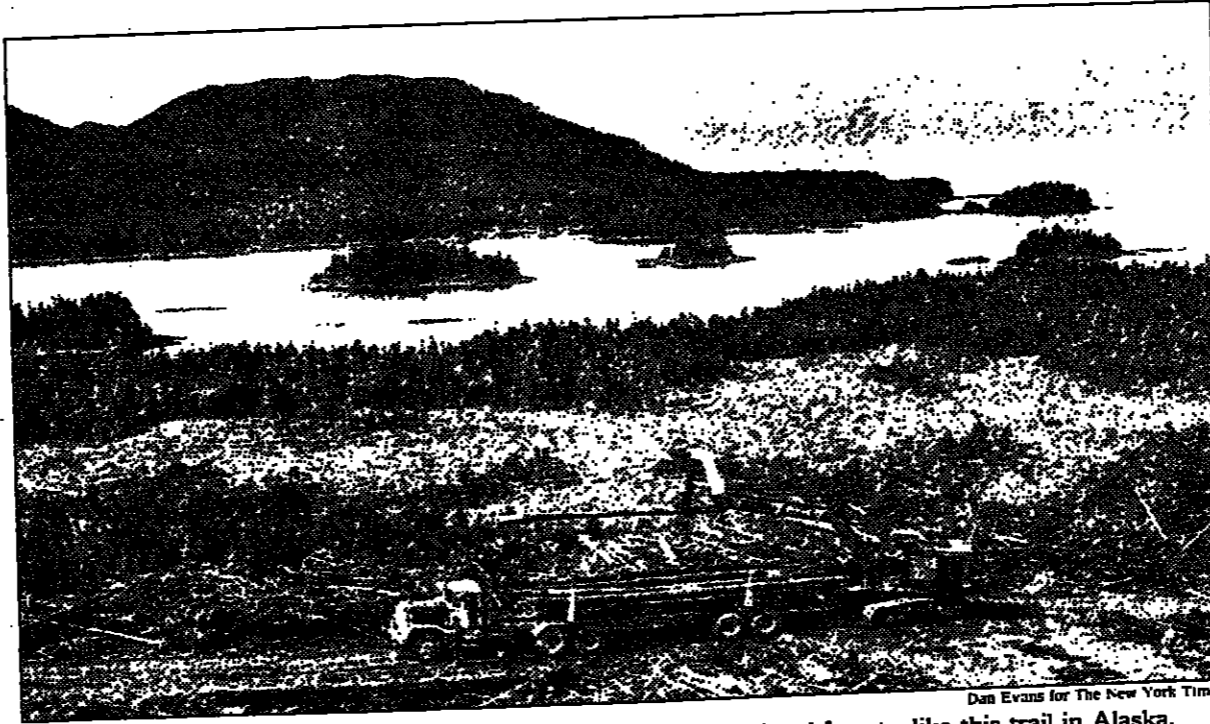
The Democrats' Issue

Mr. Kasich, an Ohioan who is chairman of the House Budget Committee and an acolyte of Speaker Newt Gingrich, is in the vanguard of a band of Republican politicians who want to cast off the idea that the G.O.P. is primarily the party of business and to wrest from Democrats the issue of corporate welfare. Republicans should attack unwarranted Government subsidies with equal zeal, Mr. Kasich is fond of saying, whether the handouts go to people or companies.

President Clinton will doubtless make a similar point this week when he sends his budget to Congress. But Mr. Clinton and Mr. Kasich address the matter from different angles.

The President's budget proposes the elimination of several tax breaks enjoyed mostly by big corporations and investors but leaves intact most of the spending that subsidizes companies. Mr. Kasich skirts the question of tax subsidies for business and concentrates on what the Government spends and lends.

Meanwhile, two of the most prominent partisans in the Senate — John McCain, Republican of Arizona, and



One program nominated for abolition builds logging roads in national forests, like this trail in Alaska.

Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts — took an intermediate approach last week. They proposed the creation of a commission to study all aspects of corporate subsidies and recommend what should be changed.

The politicians' interest is not mysterious. After Republicans took control of Congress two years ago, Frank Luntz, a Republican pollster, field-tested many words and phrases to assess their political appeal.

"Corporate welfare," he reported, was third on the list of "things the public flips out on," right after "foreign aid" and "waste, fraud and abuse."

The problem is, there is almost no agreement on exactly what constitutes corporate welfare.

A series of articles in The Boston Globe last summer

found programs totaling \$150 billion a year. The Cato Institute, a libertarian research center, recently identified \$87 billion worth.

A study in 1995 by the Congressional Budget Office concluded that the Government spends \$28 billion a year promoting commerce and business and another \$2.2 billion in loan subsidies. The budget office also counted more than 60 tax breaks for specific businesses, 14 of them costing the Treasury annually more than \$1 billion apiece.

As a point of comparison, cuts in entitlement programs for the poor, like Medicaid and welfare, total

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A ruthless military backed government versus often barbaric Islamic guerrillas.

By Roger Cohen

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Biko, in Retrospect
Apartheid's Pyrrhic victory.

By John F. Burns

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State of the Oratory

The constructing of a Clinton speech.

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The World

Biko's Case Now Offers Justice From a Travesty

By JOHN F. BURNS

MANY of those who sat in the old synagogue in Pretoria nearly 20 years ago, when it served briefly as one of apartheid's most infamous courtrooms, must have paused at the news from South Africa last week. According to the country's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, five white security officers involved in the detention and killing of the black leader Steve Biko in 1977 have indicated a readiness to admit their part in his death, and began the process of applying for amnesty for their crimes.

South Africa is not the only place where a seemingly impregnable political system has crumbled in recent years. But there can be few places where the victors and the vanquished of the old order meet on such improbably altered terms. Nearly three years of black-led government under the presidency of Nelson Mandela, apartheid's most famous political prisoner, have accustomed the world to surprising things, but few have been quite so arresting as the prospect of learning, from the men who killed him, what really happened to Mr. Biko.

The men who are now petitioners before the truth commission, including Col. Harold Snyman, who oversaw the interrogation of Mr. Biko, showed no remorse 20 years ago at the inquest into his death from brain injuries in a Pretoria prison cell. During the two-week hearing, they strutted about in the manner of men above the law. They joked while waiting to take the witness stand, they openly coordinated their accounts of how Mr. Biko sustained his injuries (and still offered versions that conflicted), and they answered contemptuously when cross-questioned by the Biko family's lawyers.

It is a different matter now. Lawyers for the five men have said their clients are ready to make a clean breast of their roles in Mr. Biko's death, thus meeting, they hope, the condition the truth commission has set for giving amnesty to perpetrators of apartheid-era crimes. Since there is no guarantee that the amnesty will be granted, and thus it is possible that the men could still be prosecuted for murder, it remains to be seen whether they will discard the tissue of evasions, half-truths and

lies that made absurdist theater of the inquest.

But whatever the men may admit or deny, they will be adding in some measure to one of the most important chapters in the fall of apartheid. It was so, in the main, because of the miserable way in which Mr. Biko died, and the shock this administered to opinion in South Africa and the world. But it was also a turning point because it removed a man who many thought might have one day challenged Mr. Mandela for the leadership of blacks in South Africa, or perhaps succeeded him.

WHEN he died, at the age of 30, Mr. Biko was the country's most important young black leader, and something of a firebrand in the anti-apartheid struggle.

Only days before his arrest, he told this reporter that blacks would one day move out of their townships and into white suburbs, "destroying and burning" along the way. This appeared to put him and his black-consciousness movement on a more radical track than Mr. Mandela and the African National Congress, the older resistance group now in power. But how much difference this might have made in the compromises Mr. Mandela made with whites to secure black rule can never be known, since Mr. Biko's killers made sure he had no chance to settle into mellow middle age.

What is sure is that Mr. Biko's death speeded apartheid's end. Not since the 1960 police massacre of 62 protesters in Sharpeville had an incident so galvanized black opposition. And because the murder laid bare the viciousness at the heart of white rule, it aroused the West's conscience as nothing before. Within weeks, the United States, turning from dialogue, adopted its first trade and financial sanctions against Pretoria.

Ironically, it was the South African regime's respect for the forms of law — courts, lawyers, open testimony designed to signal that this was still a Western society — that helped expose how deeply it was flouting the core ideas of Western justice itself. Although questioning by the Biko family's lead counsel, Sydney W. Kentridge, devastated the policemen's increasingly fantastic attempts to explain away Mr. Biko's death, the verdict, by a magistrate who was a civil servant within the apartheid regime, was foreordained.

Initially, the Government said that Mr. Biko had



A museum exhibit in Pretoria includes a replica of Steven Biko's body as it was found in his prison cell in September 1977. Five ex-officers are now willing to admit their part in his death in return for amnesty.

starved himself to death. Days later, it adjusted to post-mortem evidence of brain injuries by saying he had intentionally banged his head on a wall. At the inquest, the policemen claimed that Mr. Biko, enraged when shown statements by fellow black leaders that purportedly implicated him in terrorist activities, had attacked them with a chair, then suffered head injuries in a fall.

But none of the shifting accounts disguised the brutal indignities of the affair. At the inquest, the policemen admitted keeping Mr. Biko naked in a cell for 18 days, and denying his transfer to a hospital even after Government doctors detected brain damage. When Mr. Biko was foaming at the mouth and incoherent, he was placed naked in the rear of a Land Rover and driven 700 miles across the country from Port Elizabeth. In Pretoria, he was dumped into a prison cell, still naked, and left to die.

Almost as frightening was the Alice-in-Wonderland world of apartheid the Biko affair exposed. For those at the pinnacle of white power, as much as for those, like the policemen, who did the dirty work necessary to uphold the system, the cost of admitting the truth had become too great, since it involved acknowledging the moral bankruptcy of their power. Instead, they adopted whatever tortured version of reality was least troubling.

Nobody better demonstrated this than James T. Kruger, Justice and Police Minister at the time. It was he who told a congress of the ruling National Party that he supported Mr. Biko's right to "starve himself to death." Later, after Mr. Biko's brain injuries were disclosed, Mr. Kruger summoned this reporter to his office, brewed a pot of tea, walked over to the door frame and banged his head. "This is what he did, just to embarrass us," he said. Farcical as it seemed, Mr. Kruger gave every sign of believing this.

THE fact that the truth has caught up with Mr. Biko's killers may be small consolation to Mr. Biko's family and friends, who have demanded they be tried. Still, the lessons of the affair may give some comfort elsewhere. In Bosnia, victim of another murderous ideology, Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, the Serbian overlords of "ethnic cleansing" between 1992 and 1995, have been as arrogant in their presumptions of impunity as the practitioners of apartheid ever were. Perhaps, someday, history's wheel will turn for them, too, offering a measure of redress to the numberless victims of their obsessions.

John F. Burns, New Delhi bureau chief of The New York Times, covered South Africa for The Times in 1977.

Algeria Is Burning

A Chance to Try to End an Agony

By ROGER COHEN

JANUARY was the cruellest month in Algeria. Cruel in its violence, including a car-bombing that killed 42 people in central Algiers; cruel in the cynicism of the assassination of Abdelhak Benhamou, an influential union leader who had wanted to forge a new political party. And cruel, above all, for the promise of yet more killing that was contained in a ranting speech by the President in which he blamed foreign plots for all of Algeria's woes and vowed to "eradicate" the terrorists.

The Algerian civil war, which pits a ruthless military-backed government against often barbaric Islamic guerrillas, is five years old. It has become part of the background noise of world affairs, rumbling on like Kurdish clashes but rarely registering on the world's consciousness — that is, its television screens.

The conflict began when an election that was on the verge of bringing political Islam to power was canceled by the military in January 1992; it has rendered Algerian democracy — and hopes that a stable political center could form — stillborn.

Hocine Ait Ahmed, an opposition leader, recently spoke of a "Berlin wall" around the war, evoking how the Algerian dreams of the 1980's have died amid general indifference.

That wall has been composed of many elements: the secrecy of Algeria's rulers, known simply as "le Pouvoir" or "the Power"; the intractable inertia in a country where the choices appear particularly delicate, and the fact that Algeria's oil and natural gas have kept flowing to American and European companies.

But as the recent violence suggests, the Algerian problem is festering to the point where it may prove harder to ignore. Its threat, just south of France, is clear: spreading Islamic militancy, a spillover of terrorism, a flood of refugees and the disruption of large oil and natural-gas supplies (into which American investment pours).

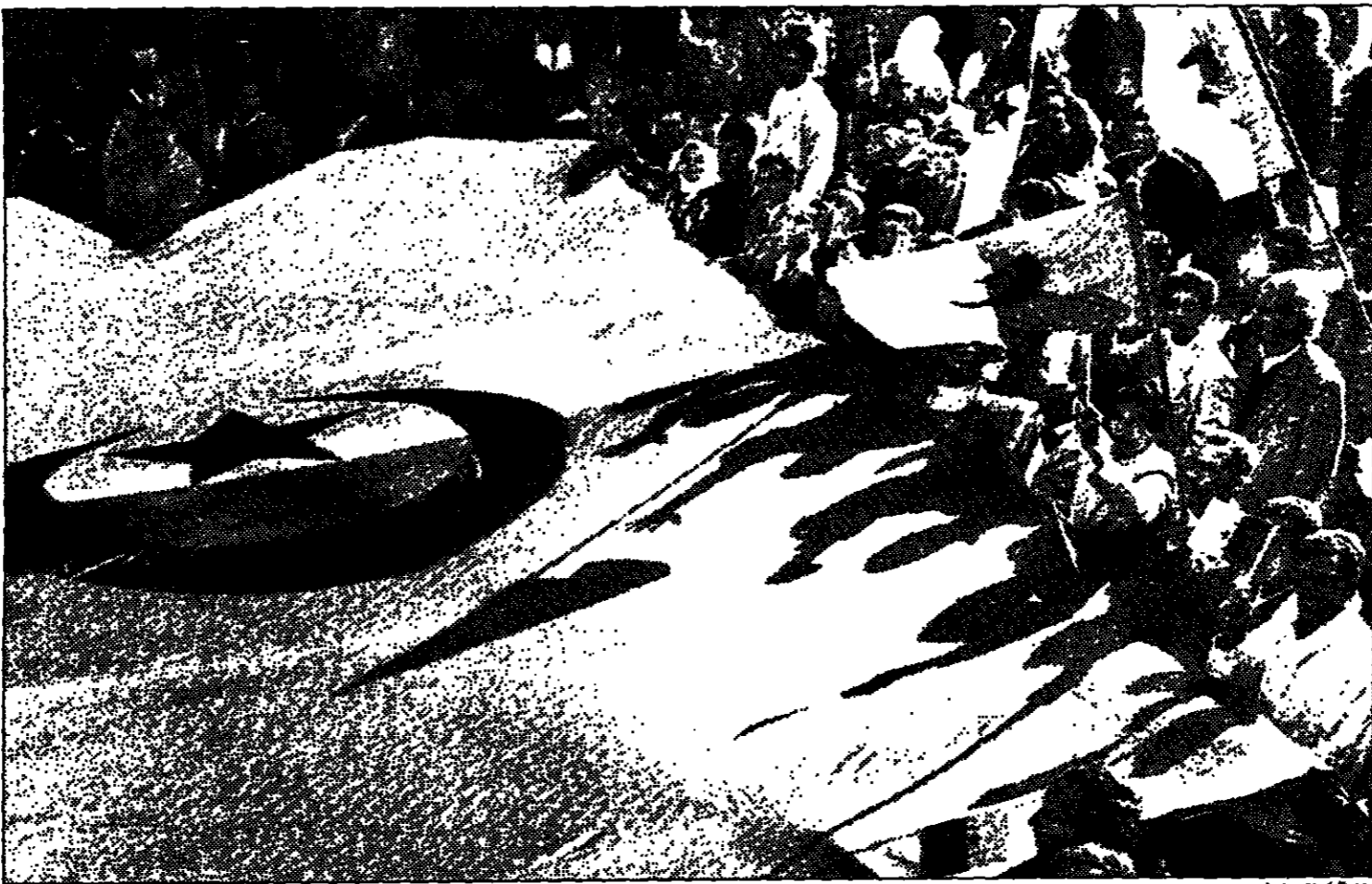
A Hint of Opportunity

But if this is a moment of crisis it may also be a moment when the West, whose options seem otherwise limited, could put some pressure on Algeria's leaders to restore a hope of democracy.

Within the next few months, the country is due to hold its first parliamentary elections since the cancellation of the 1992 poll that nearly brought the Islamic Salvation Front to power. The party had brandished slogans like "Islam is the solution" to protest the corruption and economic mismanagement of Algeria's military-dominated regime. When the election was canceled, the party split into armed factions pursuing insurrection and a more moderate wing.

How — and indeed whether — the new elections are held will test Algeria's direction and the West's readiness to encourage a democratic solution there. Breaking a long, and increasingly eerie, silence, French politicians of the left and right last week called for France to act.

Lionel Jospin, the Socialist leader, said France could no longer provide "blind support" to President Liamine Zeroual's Govern-



On Jan. 29, 1995, thousands marched in Algiers to support the Government's promise to hold new elections, which have yet to be held.

ment. And Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, a former President, said the Islamic Salvation Front, now banned, should be allowed to participate in the election.

The United States has maintained a determinedly low profile on Algeria since the war began. But tension between America and France over Algeria has been easing. French feelings that the Clinton Administration had been too conciliatory toward the Islamic Salvation Front have changed since the arrest late last year of Anwar Raddam, a prominent party member, in America.

So a joint French-American initiative is technically possible, combining French economic leverage over Mr. Zeroual (France grants more than \$1 billion annually to Algeria in subsidized loans) with the Clinton Administration's greater access to the Islamic Salvation Front.

Opening the way for meaningful elections might entail a call on Mr. Zeroual to approach all parties, including the Islamic Salvation Front, in order to hammer out certain principles: the rejection of violence, respect for human rights, the elimination of torture, a commitment to the alternation of power through universal suffrage, a free press and respect for Algeria's Arab and Berber culture, the European Union's aid, debt relief, World Bank loans and the like, could all be used as carrots and sticks.

But huge difficulties remain, all of them illustrated by the events of the last month. Mr. Zeroual's speech on Jan. 24 — in which he raged against "criminals, traitors and mercenaries manipulated by external circles" — was a textbook study in the closed mentality



A bodyguard slain last week along with the labor leader Abdelhak Benhamou.

of Algeria's rulers. The very notion of open dialogue is generally foreign to them. In the speech, Mr. Zeroual ominously neglected to set a date for the new elections.

The murder last week of Abdelhak Benhamou was equally ominous. A prominent 55-year-old union leader and a determined opponent of Islamic fundamentalism, Mr. Benhamou had been preparing to form a centrist political party. His last words to a friend, as

reported in Algiers, were, "Kamel, my friend, they have betrayed us." One problem in Algeria is always to know who is killing whom.

These words — and the efficiency of his killing in central Algiers — were widely seen as suggesting that the murder was the work of rival clans within "le Pouvoir," rather than of Islamic guerrillas.

Finally, the barbarity of the car-bombings, throat slittings and other killings that have swept Algiers and towns nearby since the Muslim holy month of Ramadan started on Jan. 10 have illustrated, once again, the unconscionable methods of the violent factions that have splintered from the Islamic Salvation Front. It is unclear to what extent the Front itself — its leaders dead, arrested or abroad — is still a coherent political force.

Still, the frustrated, largely silenced democratic yearnings of a broad Algerian center exist and could be buttressed by Western diplomacy. Those yearnings, and economic frustration, propelled people into the streets of Algiers in the late 1980's to push for democracy, at the same time as people in Central Europe protested against their own dictators and Marxist economic mismanagement.

The Algerian democratic movement went nowhere. The country remains torn by latent ethnic tensions (a Berber minority represents perhaps a third of the population), suffers from decades of official corruption and is unsure what to make of its long French colonial history. It still seeks its true identity. The democratic opening that began in 1988 was largely about finding one. Still today, it appears, as Mr. Jospin said, that "democracy, in the end, is the only road to peace."

Africa's Culture War

Continued From Page 1

into the bush known as Bondo — a sort of finishing school run exclusively by women in which one generation passed on its knowledge of womanhood to the next. Over time, however, such retreats withered into gatherings lasting only a few days, in which traditional teachings faded, leaving the rite of genital mutilation as an exaggerated centerpiece of what was once a rich rite of passage.

"We have to let them know that we are not coming to take something away from them," Mrs. Bangura said. "We could begin by telling women that Bondo has been trivialized by reducing it to a circumcision ceremony. Instead, the institution could be modernized by teaching abstinence or sexual education to young girls."

Then again, different approaches to changing local customs in Africa have been tried across centuries. Competing for converts, many Protestant sects roundly denounced traditional African religious rites as the

Where life has long been bleak, harsh rituals survive.

work of the devil. Roman Catholics, meanwhile, if no less accepting of animist customs, tended to stress their own teachings and spend far less energy castigating Africans for their beliefs.

Looking back at the limited success of either approach, it's not unreasonable to conclude that by itself neither would get very far today. Without education for all and a rise in living standards neither new laws nor angry sermons, like those delivered by Mr. Wisdom at his bamboo-walled church here, will make much difference.

In the Ghanaian coastal village of Tefle, where ritual slavery is still practiced, the wizened men who gather daily in the cooling air of late afternoon seemed to make this point over and over when asked how they felt about a measure being debated in Parliament aimed at wiping out the practice.

"Our customs go back a very long way and they are what we are comfortable with," one said, exasperated by an outsider's questions. "Call us pagans, but we will die happy with the way we are."

The Nation

State of the Speech: Reading Between the Lines

By ALISON MITCHELL

REMEMBER how Bill Clinton electrified a joint session of Congress in 1993 by brandishing a prototype of a national health care card and calling for "health care that can never be taken away, health care that is always there"?

That speech still stands as one of the most impressive formal addresses of his Presidency. And perhaps it was no accident that Mr. Clinton could hold the Congress in his sway even though he was winging it for seven minutes as the wrong text scrolled across the Teleprompter. But he might not be as dramatic Tuesday when he delivers his State of the Union address.

For Mr. Clinton has a curious split personality when it comes to oratory. Speaking extemporaneously, he can be arresting, eloquent and amusing. He has had moments of self-revelation: at a recent news conference, he said that all those officials who had pushed campaign fund-raising to the limits had to be held accountable "even if we did it because we thought we had to do it to survive or to just keep up."

Sometimes his turns of phrase twang with a delicious backwoodsness. During the campaign, he said of the Republican budget proposal: "It is their dog. And it was a mangy old dog, and that's why I vetoed that dog."



President Clinton about to give his second inaugural address, after making last-minute changes. His informal speeches often are considered more empathetic. Stephen Crowley/The New York Times

Clinton's most memorable addresses, unlike the State of the Union, are off-the-cuff.

And at the pulpit of a church, Mr. Clinton can burn with a preacher's passion that rivals the Rev. Jesse Jackson's.

But put this President in the most stately settings of government with a written text and a Teleprompter and his eloquence sometimes fades. Connectedness is the key to his best oratory, his aides say. Mr. Clinton needs the synergy of the crowd: he needs to feel people's enthusiasm or their pain.

Without it, his empathy diminishes and his addresses can become less art than architecture, stolid and carefully constructed. This is not for lack of work and resources. These formal addresses go through multiple drafts, with Mr. Clinton scrawling his own words across prepared texts or dictating new ideas to his speechwriters. He reads widely in preparation and takes cues from polls. The result can sometimes be laundry lists of initiatives and too many themes at once. He hews to predictable adjectives and phrases that exude a comforting optimism but are less than provocative.

Mr. Clinton's inaugural address last month was called workaday by political pundits. He did take risks by warning that the divide of race is "America's constant curse." He also spoke across the years to Ronald Reagan's view on the role of government. "Govern-

ment," Mr. Clinton said, "is not the problem."

But each time the President's speech might have soared, he switched themes, many of which were sounded throughout the campaign. In his wake were would-be catch phrases like a "new government for a new century" or "a land of new promise" or a "bright new prospect in world affairs."

On Tuesday, Mr. Clinton delivers the annual State of the Union Address, which sets out a President's legislative agenda before both Congress and a national television audience. It is regarded as a problematic speech. Thomas Jefferson flatly refused to give one.

"If you imagine political rhetoric as a big broad river like the Mississippi," said Peggy Noonan, one of Mr. Reagan's speechwriters, "an inaugural address is a big sleek sloop, a real dream boat." But a State of the Union, she added, "is a big, old gray tugboat weighed down with cargo. You stop and look at it as it goes by, and sometimes you're marvelously impressed that it didn't sink."

Yet during his first two State of the Union addresses, Mr. Clinton had to his advantage the edge that comes with a new President, the drama of change and his audacious plan for comprehensive health care coverage. He also had a Democratic Congress to cheer him on, which gave him that connection to his audience that evaporated when the Republicans seized control of Congress in 1994.

In 1995, Mr. Clinton scrambled to remake his image

and give the public what it wanted from him. Dick Morris, the President's former political strategist, wrote in his recent book that he conducted a poll with 259 questions in preparation for that State of the Union speech. As a result, Mr. Clinton abandoned his sweeping ideas, adopted smaller, more measured steps and returned to the political center. The 81-minute speech was called wandering by the pundits but pleased the public.

A Bridge That Held

Last year Mr. Clinton showed more confidence: he declared that "the era of big government is over" and sounded the family values themes that became central to his bid for re-election.

Only after the President's 1996 campaign ended did his aides admit how much they sample public opinion in crafting Mr. Clinton's language — acknowledging that they had poll-tested the much-repeated "bridge to the 21st century" to see if the public preferred the phrase over "bridge to the year 2000" or "bridge to the next four years." These techniques may not produce inspirational rhetoric, but apparently they work: Mr. Clinton's recent approval ratings are the highest they have ever been.

Mr. Clinton's aides, preparing for Tuesday, have learned what variables work in his favor. The topic, of course, can make the difference. On an issue that moves Mr. Clinton, like America's racial divisions, he is almost always eloquent. The President is a night person, not an

early riser, and so he is more inspirational in evening speeches. His delivery of a formal speech is better if he has a finished text for several days to practice on in the family theater in the White House.

And only after the President has scribbled widely across the text is he comfortable with it. "The most interesting thing with him and these big speeches," said Mandy Gruenwald, a former media adviser to Mr. Clinton, "is that it isn't until he goes through the process of writing the speech that he knows exactly what he thinks. Some of his best speeches have come because he has really thought through the issue and through the process of writing and rewriting and rewriting he decided what he wants to say."

Still, there are those who long for Mr. Clinton to show the same spark that comes when he is speaking off the cuff. "I would like to see President Clinton, sometime before he's through these four years, demonstrate all his gifts to the maximum," said Mario M. Cuomo, the former New York Governor. "That would require him to throw off any inhibition about saying too much or inhibition about getting into political trouble. I'd love to hear him announcing, 'I'll never run again for public office. I'll never have another chance to tell you what I really believe.'"

As Mr. Clinton crafted his State of the Union message last week, one of his aides daydreamed. "If we were brave at heart," he said, "we would simply give him an outline and say go out there and draw on this."

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Caseworkers Aren't Sabotaging Welfare Reform

To the Editor:
Bradley R. Schiller argues that welfare reform efforts are being undermined by discretionary exemptions from work requirements (Op-Ed, Jan. 28). The reason, he asserts, is that "the army of social workers who carry out welfare at the local level is by and large liberal."
During my time as a caseworker in Boston, any client who exhibited even modest competence was sent off to job training and so-called opportunities. Most clients were unemployable: illiterate, pathological or overwhelmed by the stress of caring for extended families. Exemption decisions reflected caseworkers' practical judgment, not politics.
Mr. Schiller perpetuates the myths that most people on welfare are living a life of ease at taxpayer expense. Let him study the

decisions of caseworkers where they are made and he'll see the reality: the chaotic lives of the desperately poor.
TERESA J. PARKER
Cambridge, Mass., Jan. 29, 1997

To the Editor:
Bradley R. Schiller (Op-Ed, Jan. 28) underestimates the impact that welfare has had. Welfare clients often must choose between keeping benefits and doing mental work or dropping their benefits so they will have the time to go to school, which will give them the tools they need to secure work. If they miss a few days of work, their cases can be dropped. Welfare has become instrumental in reducing the welfare rolls and denying benefits to those who truly need them.
RACHEL K. FIELD
New York, Jan. 28, 1997
The writer is a social worker.

Tax Breaks and Bodegas

To the Editor:
You report that President Clinton will ask Congress to provide tax breaks for employers of welfare recipients (front page, Jan. 28). But these credits provide little relief for the likely first line of employers. People coming off welfare will look to the immediate neighborhood to find a job. The grocers, bodegas and other "mom and pop" operations might welcome the help, but tax relief carries with it additional paperwork requiring a bookkeeper or other tax consultant. The gain is far less than the expense.
When I was director of the New York City high school division several years ago, we received financing from the city to address the dropout issue. One initiative let us provide a training wage for teen-agers in the local community. Employers received six weeks of free help while preparing the young people for work. Many employers grew to rely on their assistants and kept them on when the training wage ended. Similar efforts like the SEEK program and the Job Training Partnership Act may have not been successful because they did not address the needs of local businesses.
VICTOR HERBERT
Phoenix, Jan. 28, 1997
The writer is project director of the Community Partnership of Phoenix.

Why Praise a Failure?

To the Editor:
Why does President Clinton continue to praise a welfare-to-work program that has failed half of those enrolled? At his Jan. 28 news conference, he praised Kansas City's community employment council (excerpts, Jan. 28), yet Gary J. Stangler, director of Missouri's Department of Social Services, has admitted that half the participants fail.
Where do these people go for help when the government cuts them off? Back to the food pantries. Bad news, Mr. President. Community charities are unable to assist all those coming to us for help.
GLENN KOENEN
Exec. Dir., Circle of Concern
Valley Park, Mo., Jan. 29, 1997

CBS and King Video

To the Editor:
A Jan. 27 editorial concludes that it's good for CBS to market the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech in its five-part video series without sharing its profits with his heirs and suggests that it's somehow bad for Dr. King's estate to sue CBS for a share of these profits. You and CBS seem to believe the King estate should have no rights under copyright law in the interest of "political discourse, journalism and public access to information."
Would you waive copyright protection and give away all your information to the public? Copyright law is for all of us, even media corporations.
DENNIS DALRYMPLE
New York, Jan. 28, 1997

Cochran Stays Course

To the Editor:
Maureen Dowd (column, Jan. 26) suggests that Johnnie Cochran, O. J. Simpson's lawyer, abandoned my client Elmer (Geronimo) Pratt during an important hearing to overturn his murder conviction so that Mr. Cochran could pursue his television career in New York, forcing me to remain in Orange County to conduct the hearing even though my wife had been hospitalized.
In fact, Mr. Cochran volunteered to cancel his plans so that he could be present at the Jan. 3 hearing while I stayed in San Francisco. Because I have worked on Mr. Pratt's case since 1974, my wife and I made the decision that I should be present at the hearing. If a new trial is granted, Mr. Cochran has committed to trying the case with me.
STUART HANLON
San Francisco, Jan. 30, 1997

Don Imus's Finance Forum

It is alarming but true that the discussion of campaign finance last week on Don Imus's radio show was more honest and useful than President Clinton's comments on the same subject at his news conference.
Mr. Clinton's detached, passive "mistakes-were-made" formulation about Democratic fundraising excesses made it sound as if some mystery guest in the Lincoln Bedroom had caused the mischief. But his most noteworthy and disturbing comments came in a defense of the influence-peddling status quo.
The President asserted that no matter how much money a White House visitor contributes, all he gets is an attentive ear and a cup of coffee. That is nonsense, a palpable fiction that helps preserve the traditional campaign shakedown. The all-we-do-is-listen mantra is endlessly repeated by both Democrats and Republicans who want campaigns reformed at the margins, if at all, and it has many variations. One of them is that big-money contributors do not want special treatment. They just want a chance to make their case.
The real game of campaign finance works quite differently, as Imus listeners were assured by Senator John Kerry. After some pro-forma defending of Mr. Clinton, the Massachusetts Democrat said there is a "clear expectation" in the minds of some big donors "that because they contributed, they thought that something was going to happen." In his own experience, he said, when big contributors did not get the access and legislative result they thought they were paying for, they "simply drifted away."
Later in the week, Mr. Imus talked to another Senator, Bob Kerrey of Nebraska, who has had plenty of experience searching for big money as

chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. He pointed out that fat-cat money drives politics because the high cost of television advertising drives campaign budgets. The result is candidates who are dependent on big contributors and "a wild marketplace of promises and money being raised."
Mr. Kerrey also stressed the need to strengthen the Federal Election Commission, which raises the interesting question of what ever happened to that agency. The Justice Department is investigating campaign abuses. Congress is investigating. People all over Washington are arguing over whether a special prosecutor or just the Federal Bureau of Investigation is needed to figure out the White House's pipeline to foreign money. Although some F.E.C. officials are showing signs of awakening to their duty, the agency's somnolence to this point is testimony to Republican cuts in the F.E.C.'s budget and the fact that Mr. Clinton has failed to appoint strong reformers to the commission.
There is a pressing need for Mr. Clinton to stop trying to fool people into thinking the access racket is an innocuous conversational exercise. He said in his news conference that he supported bipartisan legislation aimed at bringing down the costs of campaigns and otherwise reforming the system. That is good. But how seriously can anyone take him if he cannot bring himself to denounce the system everyone in America knows is a durable source of corruption and compromised government?
Then there is the matter of Presidential behavior. After the most grueling interrogation that any President since Richard Nixon has received about campaign money, Mr. Clinton spent the evening at a fund-raiser just like the ones that have put a cloud over his White House.

The New Mercenaries of Africa

Mercenaries have returned to Africa. The new group, led by whites who once fought in South Africa's notorious counterinsurgency units, is called Executive Outcomes and advertises its military services in fancy brochures. The organization, formed in 1989, has little in common with the ragtag band of coup-plotters Africa has seen in recent years. But it threatens to be just as destructive.
The group's spokesmen say it works only for legitimate governments, unlike anti-Communist European mercenaries Mike Hoare and Bob Denard. The soldiers, many of whom are black, make at least \$2,000 a month and use modern weapons like helicopter gunships. For roughly \$60 million, Executive Outcomes led an operation that defeated Angola's guerrilla army, something the Government had been trying to do since the country's independence 22 years ago. In Sierra Leone it organized the defeat of a powerful insurgency and allowed the country to hold elections, reportedly in exchange for a diamond-mining concession. The group, which claims to have relationships with 30 governments, may next be hired by Zaire's dictator to defeat a rebel group in eastern Zaire.
Executive Outcomes owes its rise to the end of the cold war. Africa's formerly ideological civil wars have now become competitions for control of natural resources. In addition, in some nations, government officials have left police and soldiers unpaid and undisciplined. Some African leaders, like Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire, have refused to pay or train their militaries, not wanting to create

forces that could turn against them. The West, for its part, is no longer willing to spend money or blood to intervene, leaving a vacuum that private companies are eager to fill.
The dangers are clear. There is nothing to keep the soldiers of Executive Outcomes from falling into terror, destabilization and banditry. Many of its leaders got their start carrying out the South African Government's terror campaign against its domestic opponents under apartheid and supporting Pretoria's clients in Mozambique, Namibia and Angola during that era. In Angola they fought alongside the guerrilla army they helped defeat in recent years.
The soldiers of Executive Outcomes are not accountable to anyone other than the organization's leaders. If the mercenaries commit atrocities, citizens have no recourse. The company's financial arrangements are also troubling. If governments reimburse the group by granting it mining concessions, for instance, political leaders are effectively surrendering control of vital national resources. Regaining control when payment obligations have been met may not be easy.
Although Nelson Mandela's Government says it is going to outlaw Executive Outcomes, it was happy for a time to have the group's soldiers occupied elsewhere in Africa, instead of making trouble at home. Mr. Mandela is right to start worrying now. It is not in the long-term interest of South Africa or its neighbors to encourage Executive Outcomes.

Topics of The Times

An Undeserved Star

The Air Force has wisely delayed the promotion of Brig. Gen. Terry Schwalier to a two-star rank until it completes an investigation of the terrorist attack that killed 19 American airmen and injured 500 in Saudi Arabia last June. The next step the Air Force should take is to cancel the promotion altogether. A separate Pentagon inquiry last year found that General Schwalier, the commander of American forces in Dhahran, paid insufficient attention to security needs at the Khobar Towers apartment complex where the servicemen lived.
Despite the scathing criticism of General Schwalier's conduct, the Air Force is reluctant to discipline him or anyone else responsible for the inadequate security. It seems to offend the military's distorted sense of fairness to punish an officer for a command failure that contributed to the loss of life. In this case, General Schwalier, while addressing some terrorist threats, made little effort to extend the perimeter of the base or even to install inexpensive plastic film on the apartment windows to prevent glass from shattering in an explosion.
The promotion of General Schwalier would insult both the armed services and the memory of those who died needlessly in Dhahran.

noted that several major cities, including Atlanta and Cleveland, have already converted to cleaner vehicles. But its major selling point was that conversion would help bring the city into compliance with the Federal Clean Air Act and could save lives. Natural-gas buses emit up to 90 percent less particulate soot than even the cleanest diesels available. Some scientists have estimated that particulate matter causes about 4,000 premature deaths annually in the city.
Each new vehicle will cost about \$325,000, or \$50,000 more than ordinary diesels. Even though the M.T.A.'s budget is tight, the funds are there. The Federal Transit Administration helps defray capital improvements, while the state's new Environmental Bond Act targets \$55 million for cleaner vehicles. The extra costs will be richly repaid — in cleaner air and longer lives.
Getting Rid of Tainted Food
President Clinton has announced ambitious plans to insure that what Americans eat is safe and to react more quickly to outbreaks of diseases spread by tainted food.
The problem of contaminated food confronted Mr. Clinton during his first week in office, when four children died and hundreds became ill in the Northwest after eating undercooked hamburgers tainted with E. coli bacteria at a fast-food chain. Last fall, unpasteurized apple juice caused the death of one child and sickness in dozens of others.
Mr. Clinton's program would create an early-warning system by broadening the reach of the nation's food inspection system and improving communication between Federal food inspectors and state health departments. To bring about these changes, Mr. Clinton proposes a hefty \$43 million boost in the budget for food safety. About half of the money would go to the Federal Food and Drug Administration to enhance seafood safety inspections, which have long lagged behind meat and poultry inspections.
Congress should join Mr. Clinton in this necessary

Neutral Ireland Posed the Greatest Threat to an Allied Victory

To the Editor:
Your Jan. 26 Week in Review article on the neutral European countries during World War II did not mention Ireland, yet of all the neutral countries, it posed the greatest threat to an Allied victory.
The denial of southern Irish ports to Allied ships was surely responsible for untold losses of Allied personnel and materiel. The important role of Northern Ireland was recognized by Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, but everything that happened there was known to the Germans in the Republic. It is well known that some people in the south actively helped German intelligence. On the other hand, some southern Irish men volunteered to serve in the British forces, and Irish women sought to escape poverty by taking jobs in wartime Britain.
One puzzle of the war is why Germany, after the fall of France in 1940 when Britain was at its weakest, didn't drop troops in the Republic but

chose the Russian adventure. Britain could have offered little resistance and might have been contained, surrounded by enemy territory.
No wonder Harry S. Truman had little use for the Irish Prime Minister, Eamon de Valera.
PETER GARLICK
New Paltz, N.Y., Jan. 28, 1997

Princeton history professor, as saying that given the fact that Switzerland borders Germany, "it was natural for it to lean more toward the Axis powers."
By that logic France, Poland, Belgium and Czechoslovakia should also have been pro-German.
A better quote is in a letter Winston Churchill wrote to Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden in December 1944: "Of all the neutrals, Switzerland has the greatest right to distinction. . . . What does it matter whether she has been able to give us the commercial advantage we desire or has given too many to the Germans. . . . She has been a democratic state, standing for freedom in self-defense. . . and largely on our side."
STEPHEN T. KOELLA
Rockford, Tenn., Jan. 27, 1997

Churchill's Switzerland

To the Editor:
Your Jan. 26 Week in Review article quotes Arno J. Mayer, a

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Super Bowl of Science?

To the Editor:
Imagine if the Westinghouse Science Talent Search finalists (news article, Jan. 28) received the accolades and adulation lavished upon the Super Bowl participants.
Imagine media hype and national television coverage. Imagine what could be done with those revenues.
Oh, what a wonderful world it could be.
SANDRA HOLLENBERG
Ketchum, Idaho, Jan. 30, 1997

The True Balance of Power

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The True Balance Of Power

By Leon E. Panetta

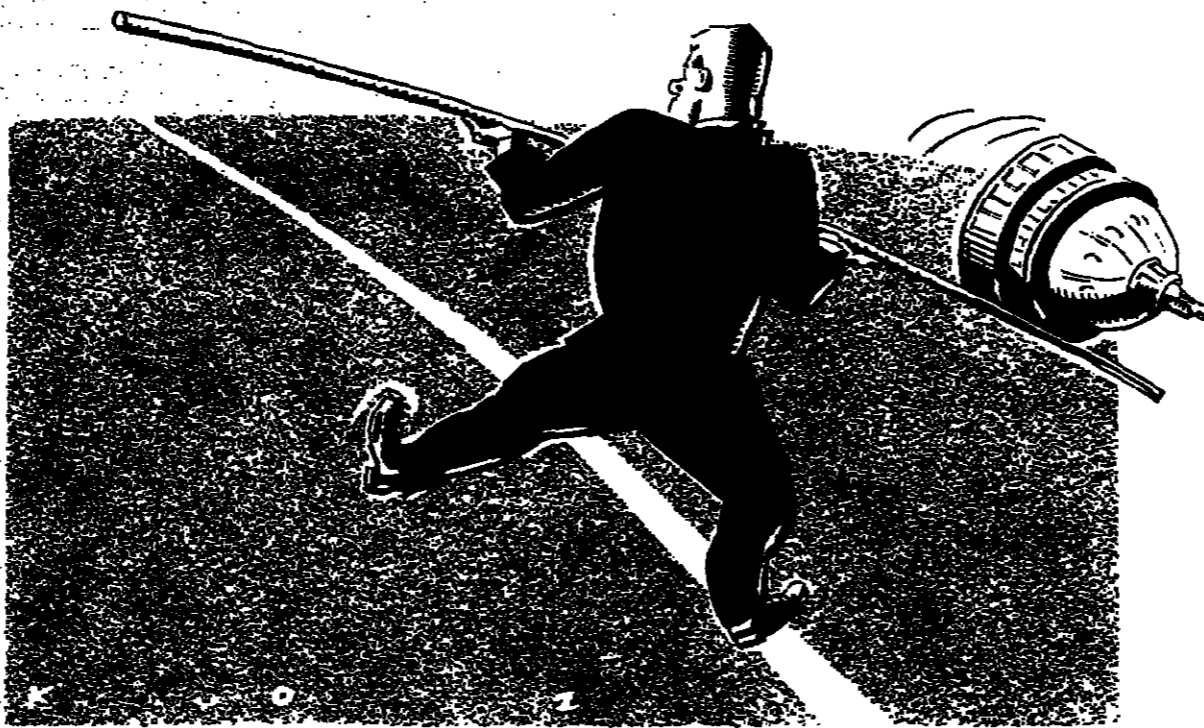
The success of President Clinton's agenda for the next four years will be determined largely by whether he can govern from the center. That agenda recognizes that government is not the solution to all problems, nor the cause, but must be a tool to provide opportunity to those willing to accept responsibility. This is the essence of the "vital center," from which most Americans want the President and Congress to govern.

But if the center is the logical, popular place to be, why is it so difficult to get there? The answer lies in the nature of Congress as an institution.

Over the last two decades, many of us who have served in Congress have believed that it was possible to bring together a large bipartisan group of moderate representatives who reject extremism and blind ideology and decide issues on the basis of common sense, conciliation and compromise. But during that time, power in Congress has rarely gravitated to the center.

Why? First and foremost, institutional power in both the House and Senate resides with the parties. Committee assignments, campaign money, leadership positions, parking, trips and legislative scheduling depend on party leaders. For that reason, party loyalty is basic to political survival. The center might be a good place to vote, but the party is where you have to live. And both parties rely on activists and interest groups that tend

Leon E. Panetta was President Clinton's chief of staff until Jan. 20. He previously served in Congress for 16 years.



Martin Kozlowski

to bunch on the right and left, so that is where they must draw their bases and their agendas.

Second, the legislative process allows centrist coalitions little power or time to coalesce for action. Most legislation emerges from committee, where the chairman and key members respond to pressures from their leaders and party members. By the time most bills reach the House or Senate floor, party positions have been largely decided. Once party discipline descends on an issue, it leaves little room for representatives to gather at the center without the risk of angering their party leadership.

Last, the spirit and many of the ideas that produce legislation come not from the center of the political spectrum but from the liberal or conservative core of each party. It is the center that can forge disparate points of view into a popular consensus. But only when a left or right coalition cannot win on an issue does the center become a force for action — that is, only when the majority party fears losing.

Recognizing these inherent problems, how does the President make the center a vibrant legislative force? The key is using the bully pulpit to reach the people. Most citi-

Congress tilts; public pressure sets it aright.

zens are not motivated by issues because they are left or right, conservative or liberal, Democratic or Republican. They simply care about how issues affect their daily lives and their children's future. When they are motivated, they can force Congress toward the center. Just look at the last Congress. Most Americans shared the Republicans' goal of a balanced budget. But most families thought that elements of the Republican budget were ideologically excessive and that shutting down the Government was extreme and threatening. The President and Democrats made that case to the people, and ultimately the Republican leadership was forced to soften its stance. The results were 1996 and 1997 budgets that cut spending while largely protecting the President's priorities, with the support of huge coalitions at the center.

Raising the minimum wage, normally a left-of-center issue, was strongly supported by most Americans. When the President used the bully pulpit, and Democrats, with the support of moderate Republicans, pushed it vote after vote, a coalition came together at the center and forced action, despite the opposition of the majority party leadership.

On welfare reform, legislation emerged from a combination of pressure from conservative forces in Congress and the President. Americans shared the conviction that the system was broken and needed reform, but few wanted to hurt people in the process. Continuing, and vocal, efforts by the President and centrists in Congress led to greater financing for child care and protection of medical benefits, creating a right-to-center coalition that passed the bill.

There is no ongoing governing coalition at the center, but one can be created on each individual issue. So the lesson of the last two years is that the best path to the center is through the President's bully pulpit, which can be used to convince Americans that goals like a balanced budget, better education, more police officers on the streets, environmental protection, campaign finance reform and jobs for welfare recipients are critical.

The American people can drive Congress to the center. This remains the most important lesson of the next four years if the President is to fulfill his ambition to have the vital center control the nation's agenda.

Liberties MAUREEN DOWD Potus Aurelius

WASHINGTON Ever since Jimmy Carter went up the mountain with tomes on leadership and came down with malaise, it has made me nervous to see Presidents fooling around with books.

With pots, a little reading can be a dangerous thing.

In 1990, George Bush had read only the first 200 pages of Martin Gilbert's 843-page book on the Second World War — "a great, big, thick history," Mr. Bush called it — when he began throwing around overwrought comparisons of Hitler and Saddam Hussein.

Lee Atwater used to carry in his briefcase "The Art of War" by Sun Tzu, an ancient Chinese warrior-philosopher who dropped pearls like: "For the impact of armed forces to be like stones thrown on eggs is a matter of emptiness and fullness."

Ross Perot also loved martial piffle, finding inspiration in "Leadership Secrets of Attila the Hun," by Wess Roberts, a California psychologist: "When on the hunt, be prepared

to have no clothes, who believed in simplicity of wardrobe, diet and speech, who hated carping, bad temper and polls (known then as "sounding the minds of the neighbors").

In his first term, Mr. Clinton was so busy with New Age gurus, he ignored the lessons of his Old Age guru. But perhaps the messy burden of Paula Jones and John Huang has convinced the President of the need to find some philosophical distance.

Here, summarized, a dozen epigrams of Marcus that will serve Potus (the smarmy Washington insider way of referring to President of the United States) very well.

1. Work toward mastery of self and vacillation in nothing.

2. Within 10 days you will appear a god even to those to whom today you seem a beast or a baboon if you return to your principles.

3. Don't anymore discuss what the good man is like, but be good.

4. If it is not right, don't do it; if it is not true, don't say it.

5. Let no one any longer hear you finding fault with your life in a palace.

6. Turn inward to your self, whenever you blame the traitor or the ungrateful, for the fault is plainly yours.

7. Disdain the flesh: blood and bones, a twisted skein of nerves, veins, arteries.

8. Perceive at last that you have within yourself something stronger and more divine than the passions — fright, suspicion, appetite? — which make a downright puppet of you.

9. The simple and good man ought to be entirely such. The affectation of simplicity is like a razor.

10. Nothing is more wretched than the man who seeks to sound the minds of his neighbors. Socrates used to call the opinions of the multitude "bogies," things to frighten children. What need have you of a suggestion, when it is possible to see what ought to be done and proceed on this path without turning back?

11. Perfection of character possesses this: Not to act a part.

12. The man in a flutter for after-fame fails to picture to himself that each of those who remember him will also very shortly die. Near at hand is your forgetting all; near too, all forgetting you.

Nobody said it would be easy, Mr. President. And it can't be fun having a critic whose been dead for 1,800 years. Maybe you should stick with Easy Rawlins.

Many Unhappy Returns at I.R.S.

By Jaron Lanier

For once, we can do something about government waste and I.R.S. ineptitude, quickly and cheaply.

The Internal Revenue Service disclosed its latest incompetency on Thursday when it conceded that the \$4 billion it had spent on developing modern computer systems was a waste. Part of that money, \$284 million, was given to Lockheed Martin, the defense contractor, to turn paper tax returns into electronic images. The agency now says it has to scrap this effort, at what an I.R.S. official described as an "astronomical cost."

Instead, the agency now desper-

Jaron Lanier is a visiting scholar at Columbia University's computer science department.

Hello? Ever heard of the Internet?

ately proposes to contract out the processing to private employees, who will get to see the tax returns of their fellow Americans in order to enter the data manually.

What a gargantuan foul-up! At the core of the debacle were philosophical errors about the right way to use computers. First, the I.R.S. must have believed the hype from some people in the computer-science establishment who hope to make computers think like people. The truth is that while computers are very good at doing certain mental tasks, they are still not able to perform many tasks that humans find simple, like reading numbers on a paper tax form.

Second, the I.R.S. ignored the inexpensive, decentralized Internet in favor of an outrageously expensive, centralized custom solution. Large numbers of Americans are already sending around digital information on the Internet every day. All kinds of commercial firms, from banks to bookstores, are routinely conducting transactions over the Internet, which is faster, more secure and costs less than using the post office.

By contrast, all that the I.R.S. has offered taxpayers is a little-publicized service requiring electronic returns to be filed through approved intermediaries, who charge as much as \$25. As a result of this bizarre policy, the I.R.S. is still receiving 90 percent of its tax returns on paper forms.

If the I.R.S. could shed the twin myths that centralization and artificial intelligence are achievable, or even desirable, it could benefit from the Internet, just like everyone else.

Foreign Affairs THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Roll Over Hawks and Doves

DAVOS, Switzerland The Times Mexico correspondent Julia Preston recently told me an intriguing story about the Zapatista guerrillas, the peasant group that has been fighting the effects of free trade and globalization on Mexico. Last year, the Zapatistas held a convention in the jungles of southern Mexico, entitled "The Intercontinental Forum in Favor of Humanity and Against Neo-Liberalism." The closing session met in a steamy, mud-hole amphitheater and was led by Zapatista leader "Sub-Commander Marcos" — a Mexican combination of Robin Hood and Ralph Nader. The session ended with the Zapatistas doing a kind of drum roll and announcing the most evil, dangerous institution in the world today. To a standing ovation, the Zapatistas declared the biggest enemy of mankind to be the W.T.O. — the World Trade Organization in Geneva, which promotes global free trade.

It's not surprising that the Zapatistas figured out that the W.T.O. was the embodiment of globalization and was having a huge impact on their lives and jobs. What's interesting is how many serious scholars recently have joined the Zapatistas in asking whether globalization — the integration of trade, finance and information that is creating a single global market and culture — is a threat to humanity or its salvation and whether it's inexorable or can be rolled back.

The global debate: Who are you?

has replaced Communism as the main threat to democratic societies. You have William Greider's new book, "One World, Ready or Not: The Manic Logic of Global Capitalism." You have a provocative essay by Harvard's Dani Rodrick, published by the Institute for International Economics: "Has Globalization Gone Too Far?" And you have a counterattack by Deputy Treasury Secretary Lawrence Summers, whose latest speech, "Integrating National Economies," argues that economic integration promotes stability and prosperity, and that we shouldn't give in to the "separatists."

This is becoming one of the most important foreign policy debates (and was a hot topic at this year's Davos World Economic Forum). Now, some of these writings are misleading — those that suggest globalization can be stopped. It can't. It's inevitable. But while it can't be stopped there are two things that can be done to it: We can go faster or slower — that is, we can sign more or fewer free-trade agreements. And we can do more or less to cushion the negatives of globalization — that is, we can strengthen or shrink our social safety nets to help the losers and we can invest more or less in educating our people to

take advantage of globalization.

If you want to know who you are in this debate, draw one line going from east to west. On one extreme are the separatists, those who want to shut down globalization and economic integration, and at the other end are the integrationists, those who believe globalization is not only inevitable but good and want to sign more free-trade deals until we have global free trade from east to west.

Then draw a second line from north to south. At the south end are those who believe the state should take total care of the losers from globalization, with everything from Social Security and health care to training programs. These are the safety-netters. At the north end are those who believe the essence of globalization is Darwinian economic competition, and the winners should take all and the losers should take care of themselves. These are the let-them-eat-cakers.

This handy matrix explains politics today: Bill Clinton is an integrationist/safety-netter. Newt Gingrich is an integrationist/let-them-eat-caker. Ross Perot is a separatist/let-them-eat-caker and the Zapatistas are separatist/safety-netters. This explains why Clinton can align with Gingrich on NAFTA but oppose him on Social Security reform, or why Perot and Sub-Commander Marcos are allies on NAFTA and opponents on everything else. So forget the political labels hawk and dove, left and right. That's old speak. Put yourself in this matrix and find out who you are, and who your allies are, in the next great foreign policy debate.

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F I L M

Hollywood Comes to Sundance, in Pursuit of Free Spirits

By CARYN JAMES

AT the Sundance Film Festival, it was hard to walk down the street or negotiate your way through a party without being mowed down by a camera crew. Park City was full of them, but they weren't making movies; they were trying to mint new celebrities.

ABC's "Good Morning America" was trailing Morgan J. Freeman (no relation to the actor), the director of "Hurricane," an adolescent angst movie that went on to tie for this year's Audience Award. MSNBC was following the three partners in October Films, whose non-Sundance movies "Secrets and Lies" and "Breaking the Waves" are contenders for Oscar nominations.

Most ubiquitous was the crew from CBS's "48 Hours," loyally dogging every step of Vin Diesel, a pumped-up New Yorker who wrote, directed and stars in "Strays." At one dizzying moment, CBS was filming Diesel being filmed by the Sundance Channel.

Even the hardest-nosed business people, the distributors who come here prepared to buy movies, now astutely describe this festival in terms of pop-culture celebrity. Their tone is usually stunned, as if visualizing money flying out of their pockets.

"We're turning these guys into instant millionaires; they're like basketball players," Bob Aaronson, an acquisitions executive at 20th Century Fox, said of Sundance film makers. Fox Searchlight paid more than \$2 million for "Star Maps," an improbably funny yet moving film about a Latino would-be actor who sells maps to movie stars' homes and moonlights as a prostitute. As Lindsay Law, president of Fox Searchlight, said, "The film maker is the new rock star."

The irony is: this wasn't a very hot year at Sundance, either for commerce or for art. No matter. Every year a Saint-Vitus's dance sets in; buyers were setting up clandestine screenings, and moviegoers were swarming into theaters like locusts. "Noah Wyle's trying to cut in line," someone said about the actor from "E.R.," who stars in "The Myth of Fingerprints" and was being led through a jammed corridor to see his film.

Among these trappings of fame, no wonder it is now standard to ask, Has Sundance sold out to Hollywood? But a far more pertinent question is, Has Hollywood sold out to Sundance? And as this low-key, course-correcting year proves, beneath the glitz, the Sundance Film Festival (which ended last weekend) has remained remarkably focused on small independent films. Meanwhile the landscape has shifted all around it. Like the mountain going to Mohammed, Hollywood has expanded its range of vision to include the ideals that Sundance has long been fostering.

Even with your eyes closed, it's not easy to confuse Rod Steiger with Robert Redford. Yet when Mr. Steiger stood on stage at the Golden Globe Awards recently, his words sounded eerily like those Mr. Redford had been saying for years. "They're called independent films because of their financing, but they're independent because of their spirit," Mr. Steiger said, presenting a clip from "Breaking the Waves," nominated for best drama. His words (in a ceremony televised on NBC, as mainstream as movie-gazing gets) suggest the direct link between Hollywood and Park City. In part because of the Sundance Film Festival's influence, Hollywood has embraced independent films as never before.

Eight years ago, when "Sex, Lies



Douglas Spain in "Star Maps" — Funny and snapped up.

and Videotape" became the first commercial hit out of the festival, the movie world was separated into gargantuan studio films and tiny, shoestring works. Since then, a huge middle ground has emerged, a gray area composed of major independent companies — like Miramax, Sony Pictures Classics, Fine Line, October, Gramercy and Fox Searchlight — releasing films like "The English Patient" and "Shine."

"The independent world has staked out a turf," says Geoffrey Gilmore, Sundance's programming director. "You can't say that film is either commercial or low-end now. There are a lot of models out there for how to make independent films."

And at the low end of the scale, almost anyone can get into the game. Investors have found that a movie made for less than \$2 million will probably break even if there are some shrewd foreign, video and television sales. Practical factors as different as improved technology and New York union contracts that give breaks to independents have contributed to the glut of films at this festival and in the marketplace.

Sundance's crucial role in this equation has been to raise the profile and expectations for independent movies. "Six years ago at this festival, there would have been a lot of debate about whether any of these films had commercial potential," Mr. Gilmore says. Now the debate is about how much potential they have.

But that development cuts two ways. It is easier for a new film maker to create a movie, and ever harder to find a distributor. As L. M. Kit Carson (who acts in and is a producer of "Hurricane") points out with a bluntness that is refreshing in this atmosphere of sensitive plants, there is also an unfortunate side to that trend: "It leads people to think their dog can direct a movie." For every "Shine," which is a success, there is a "Spitfire Grill," which sold at Sundance last year for a calamitously overpriced \$10 million. That price took what might have been a modest success and turned it into a major commercial failure.

Still, directors come here inspired by the Sundance fairy tale and by films like "The Brothers McMullen," which made Edward Burns a name director. "People are thinking, 'I can do that. I can win Lotto!'" said Robert Belia, a first-time director whose "Colin Fitz" was in the dramatic competition. He didn't win Lotto or a prize, but he did direct a deftly amusing dark comedy about security guards protecting the grave of a rock star. His wit was a relief in a year more loaded than usual with coming-of-age stories.

That's another deadening aspect of the independent explosion: every young film maker has a sexual awakening story. They blend together even though every possible variation was represented here, homosexual in the amateurish "Delta," heterosexual in the slight but charming "Mary Jane's Not a Virgin Anymore," lesbian in the vibrantly shot

and acted "All Over Me." The only thing missing was "Babe's Not a Virgin Anymore" with pigs and dogs.

The relative lack of daring in this year's films is dynamic proof that just because you can make a movie, doesn't mean you should. Vin Diesel became one of this year's object lessons. "Strays," a rambling, distant relation of "Mean Streets" in which tough guys learn to love their moms, was almost universally considered one of the low points of the festival.

There was, in fact, so much carping about weak selections this year that Robert Redford himself made a snarky comment in retaliation. After three feet of snow fell at his Sundance resort on Saturday, he was unable to get down the mountain to the awards ceremony in Park City. He sent a statement to be read, which included a line presumably in defense of Mr. Gilmore's much criticized program. "Please don't shoot the messenger," Mr. Redford wrote. "There are enough critics trying to do that."

There's no need for Sundance or Mr. Redford to be so defensive, or for buyers to be so unrealistic. After all, how often does a John Sayles or a David Lynch come along, establishing careers that viewers will want to follow for decades? How often does a "Shine" strike gold?

There were, instead, plenty of films here that help define what good independent film making is about. "The Myth of Fingerprints," an engaging and subtle family drama directed by Bart Freundlich, blurs the line between Hollywood and Sundance. It has recognizable stars, including Blythe Danner, Roy Scheider and Julianne Moore. Yet Mr. Wyle, playing one of several siblings who return home for Thanksgiving, is at the center of a father-son conflict that beautifully avoids a predictable Hollywood ending.

Over lunch, Mr. Wyle sounded smart about his own career and about what makes an independent film independent. He could have parlayed his television success into a role in a Hollywood film, but he's aware that the cast of "Friends" have bombed out in movies that way.

"I knew that a low-budget independent family drama was probably the best thing I could do, for my own sanity and professionally," he said. "Independent film has now taken on the air of quality. I wanted to structure my career to insure as much longevity as possible."

And he points out differences between the realism of "The Myth of Fingerprints" and a Hollywood melodrama. "If this were a studio film, I wouldn't have pushed my father into a table, I would have beat him up. My father wouldn't have kissed my girlfriend; he would have raped her." Because the film came to Sundance with a distributor, Sony Pictures Classics, it was one of the few polished movies in competition, something even other distributors could admire.

"There was not an ounce of fat on 'Myth of Fingerprints,'" said Mr. Law of Fox Searchlight. "Every year film makers stand up and say, 'We just finished the film; you're the first audience to see it, and I want to say, 'Don't do it! This is no place for a dress rehearsal anymore.'"

True to its purpose, the festival has balanced smooth films with edgier work, including "Star Maps" (shown out of competition) and "In the Company of Men," a tiny social comedy about two men who hatch a nasty plot to seduce and humiliate a deaf woman, retaliating for years of abuse by females. People here argued about whether it was misogynistic or male-bashing, but both extremes seem wrongheaded. One man is a sociopath, the other a wimp. Because of its provocative subject, "In the Company of Men" at least got some attention. As the festival grows, and distributors prowl for commercial prospects, the danger is that less flamboyant films will get lost. A slow, lovely film like "The Whole Wide World," which was in last year's festival (and is in theaters now), got scarcely any attention here. That hints at the scary notion that Sundance audiences may be as impatient as any others.

Hardly anybody talked about this year's Grand Jury winner, "Sunday," which deserved its prize. The film creates an elegant maze in which a middle-aged man living in a shelter in Queens is mistaken by a middle-aged actress for a famous director. Or is she mistaken after all? David Suchet, usually seen as the impeccable Hercule Poirot on PBS's "Mystery," becomes this year's down-trodden man with complete credibility, and the film creates a playful mirror world even while examining the realistic texture of diminished lives and expectations.

Directed by Jonathan Nossiter and written by him and James Lasdun, "Sunday" was the odd film out among so many kiddie flicks. "This is a good film that would be dead without winning," said John Powers, the film critic for Vogue magazine and a member of this year's jury. "Now it has a chance to find the audience it deserves."

Distributors are now circling around "Sunday," but the festival is



"Sunday," starring David Suchet and Lisa Harrow, won Sundance's Grand Jury prize.

littered with the remains of Grand Jury winners that never found an audience. (Do "Chameleon Street" or "Public Access" sound familiar? Of course not.) The Audience Award is usually the better harbinger of mainstream interest. "Hurricane" shared the prize with the romance "Love Jones" (which came to Sundance with New Line as its distributor). "Hurricane" is not nearly as rich as "Sunday," but it has a more viewer-friendly surface. Essentially it is one more variation on the coming-of-age film, in which a 15-year-old New York boy, being brought up by his grandmother while his mother is in prison, becomes carelessly involved in petty crime.

While the competition films disappointed buyers hoping to find Hollywood's next flavor of the month, Mr. Lynch's "Lost Highway" is a film with enough glossy production values for Hollywood, enough enigmatic content for Park City, and enough artistry to explode all categories. To say it is a murder mystery without a solution is merely to hint at its many swerves and layers, as Bill Pullman plays a man accused of murdering his wife, played by Patricia Arquette. All the elements of film mak-

ing come together as they could in no other form: haunting visual images, a story that has the thrust of film noir, an eclectic jazz-and-pop score.

So many things in life are abstractions, and cinema has a way of dealing with that. Mr. Lynch said, adding that the film, which includes a mysterious transformation from one personality to another, "is not always intellectually understandable; it's an intuitive sort of understanding. People have to feel their way through." The remark makes sense coming from a man who started out as a painter and who resists describing "Lost Highway." As he said, in a voice that is remarkably tiny coming from such a tall man: "If you could say those 2 hours and 15 minutes in words, that would be beautiful, but usually the words fail."

If David Lynch is the epitome of a daring independent, the kind of film maker Sundance hopes and breeds, Steven Soderbergh has been the Sundance poster boy ever since "Sex, Lies and Videotape." Yet this year he brought a new film literally across the street, to Slamdance, the rival festival that was started three

years ago by film makers turned away from Sundance. There, the audience sits on folding chairs and some lie on sofa cushions on the floor. The existence of Slamdance is proof of how establishment Sundance has become.

Mr. Soderbergh's unexpectedly funny and strange "Schizopolis" is a screwball comedy about language and how it falls apart. The director himself stars in a deadpan role as a corporate executive who switches lives with a dentist and occasionally speaks gibberish. In an introduction, added recently to help loosen up the audience and prove "this isn't some pretentious treatise," Mr. Soderbergh offers the droll commentary that all of civilization rests on the acceptance of his film.

Mr. Redford has called Slamdance a parasite feeding off Sundance, which of course it is. Sundance's attitude toward Slamdance seems to be "This town's not big enough for both of us." Actually, as Sundance grows, it's hardly big enough for one of them anymore. But don't expect Sundance to move to Hollywood; it has done an amazing job of luring Hollywood in the direction of Park City.

COLLEGE CATALOGUE

BY RICHARD SILVESTRI / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

- Spanish poet Federico Garcia
- Jacuzzi user
- Look everywhere in
- Indisposed
- Make it big
- Popular porters
- Welly's "One Writer's Beginnings," e.g.
- Stretched one's neck
- Mexican state or a product that originated there
- Whole-grain food
- Specialist in a duck blind
- "Where My Money Goes" (early 1900's song)
- Chuck alternative
- The thing is?
- G.P. grp.
- Highest honor
- Colorful clumps of grass
- Trimming tool
- Platitudes
- Army leader?
- Province in Italy's Northern League
- Blue Eagle initials
- Adult
- Locate
- Conviction
- Kingdom of Minos
- Lies imply
- Drink for Drac
- Nurse
- Street of mystery
- Go cold turkey
- Columbia athlete
- Fill the hold
- Flying jib, e.g.
- Pull strings?
- Get fresh with
- More than miffed
- Tolling
- Kind of particle
- "Saw the air too much with your hand," in Shakespeare's words
- Christmas
- Advanced course
- Whiz
- "— a Moon Out Tonight" (1961 hit)
- "— Three Lives"
- Missouri, e.g.
- East end
- Jelly ingredient
- Secretary, at times
- Crime statistics
- Western airline name
- Emma Lazarus
- Bygone kings
- Muscle-building unit
- Put up
- To be, to Benita
- Word in a promise
- Hot issue?
- Area near the crown
- Changes back
- Guy Lombardo hit of 1937 or Jimmy Dorsey hit of 1957
- Inherent character
- Franklin's flier
- Grabbed
- Hung out to dry
- Bomber initials
- Bring (out)
- Single
- Cod piece?
- "— Peach" (Allman Brothers album)
- Got lucky at poker
- General Grant's horsehoer
- Like the flu
- Hail
- Alley challenge
- Beer holders: Abbr.
- Walt Disney's middle name
- Unbound
- Chest material?
- Done in
- Like some excursions
- Go furtively
- Unit of capacitance
- Distillation product
- Chuck
- Closest contents
- "South Pacific" hero
- Fends off
- Home of England's Opera North
- Off-peak call?
- (), informally
- Marker
- Loose-limbed
- Prepare for action
- Toll wearily
- "— Lap" (1983 film)
- Balcony section
- Eng. Engr's specialty
- Bambi's aunt
- Devil-may-care
- Bambi's aunt

DOWN

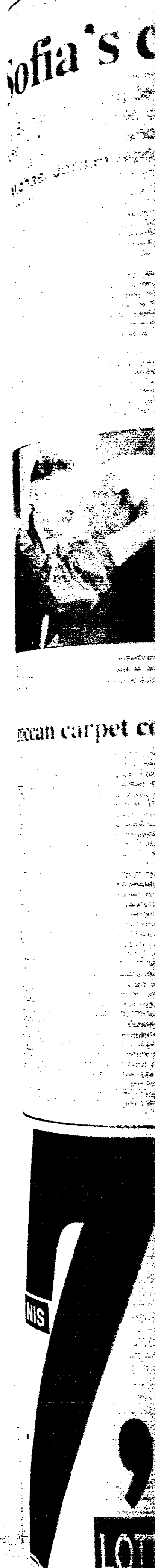
- Kind of particle
- "Saw the air too much with your hand," in Shakespeare's words
- Like Uranus vis-a-vis Jupiter
- A cock does it
- Speller's phrase
- God of wine
- Unpaid debt
- Sing-a-long syllable
- Posterior
- In any way
- The scarlet letter
- Bygone kings
- Philippine island
- City WNW of Mascara
- Overshadow
- Flower clusters
- Not be perfect

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

LOGE MUSTA SEWS ELLA
TYROL ABOIL ALEC FOIL
OCALA NOLTE BALE FLEA
REKOS DAVIDGOLDFIELD
NEGOTIATE FIY SINN
DINT DURAN UDALL
DIRECTOR OLGOLDLIDES
IDEO ODEUN SEGALE IST
KOLM ATTIP SERT ONES
ELLI BRUTANT ETCR
CATONABOTGOLDRIF
GUMS OLEODITL AGO
NARS CEST MARIO BGO
ERA OMARS DONIS ODE
HYVIGELDAWAY ANVELOPE
IDEAL EDEUN OYAF
KEYS ELO POWEROAT
GOLANDOLDLANCE BEINE
NOVA LOAF YENTAL ALLIN
ANEW TOFF NODAL BLESS
PENN APTS BEADS TYRE



Patricia Arquette in David Lynch's "Lost Highway" — Enigmatic.



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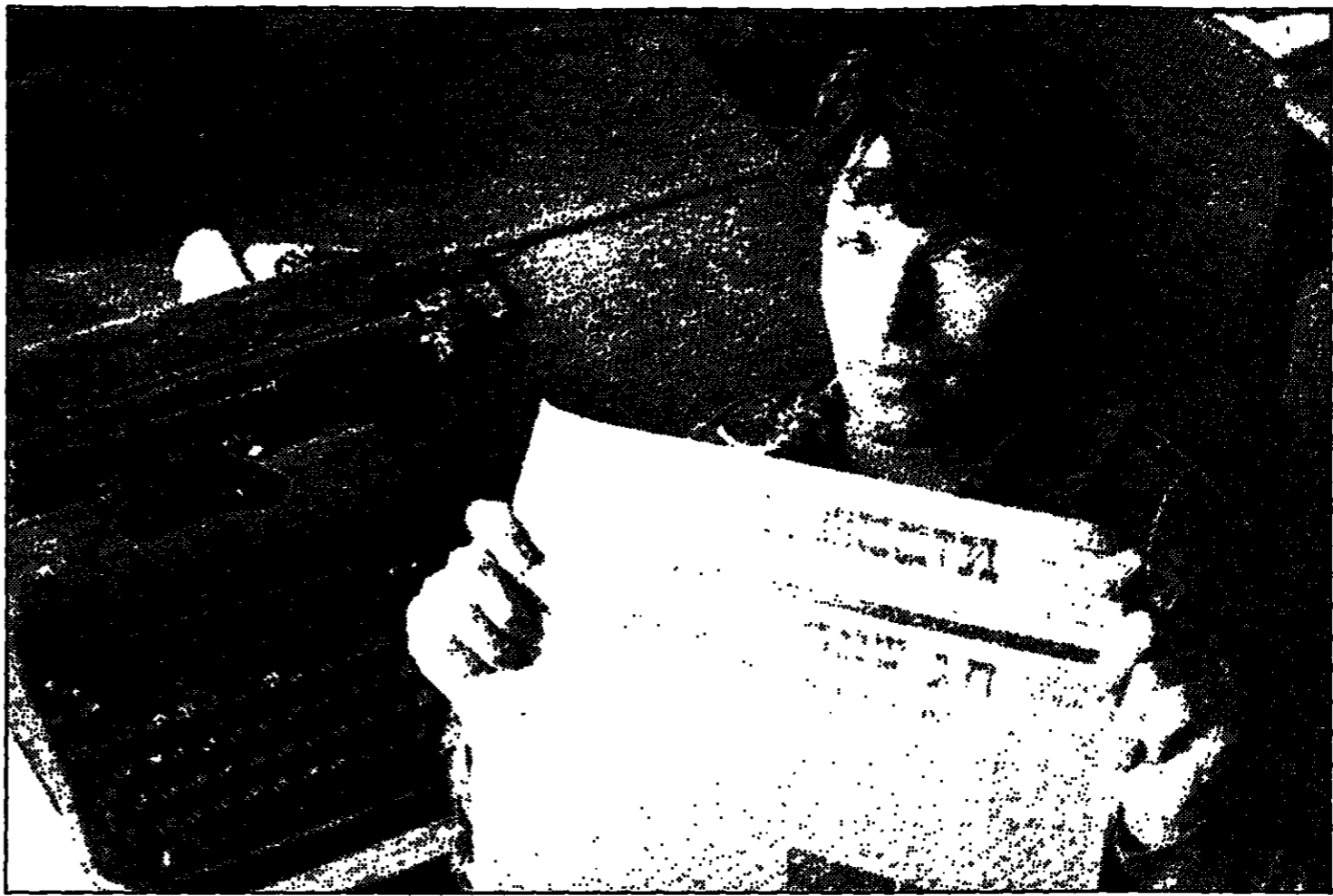
Sofia's choice

While Bulgaria's young Jews are emigrating because of dire economic conditions, the aged are staying - and in need.
Michael Jordan reports from Sofia

Mordo Ishak Almozino has survived three wars and four decades of communism. But this 90-year-old Bulgarian Jew says he's stunned by the magnitude of his country's current economic crisis. Inflation may have topped 50 percent for January alone. Average salaries have plummeted to \$25 per month, while pensioners receive roughly \$10. That's equal to about one loaf of bread per day. In desperation, scores of elderly resort to scavenging for food in garbage bins. Almozino might have been among them, if it weren't for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. The JDC has responded to Bulgaria's worsening economic crisis by chipping in nearly \$20 per month for food

and heating for each of 1,400 Holocaust survivors. "I would die without it," said Almozino, a retired bookkeeper whose great-grandfather was Bulgaria's first chief rabbi. "Man's greatest enemies are the cold and hunger." While Almozino and others tough it out and vent their frustrations - for more than two weeks, tens of thousands have demonstrated nationwide against the ruling Socialists - a growing portion of younger Bulgarian Jews are jumping ship. Their lifeboat: Israel. Bulgaria is said to have the highest rate of Jewish emigration in the world. Some 1,000, of an estimated community of 7,000, have left for Israel since the Iron Curtain was torn down in 1989. And the

pace has picked up since July, mirroring the country's rapid economic decline. Twenty to 35 Jews depart each month, with a total of 300 to 400 predicted to head out this year, said Ori Konforti, director of the Jewish Agency for Israel in Sofia. "It used to be that Bulgarian Jews left for work opportunities or Zionism, but now it's purely for economic reasons," Konforti said. He added that the agency has also rejected hundreds of Bulgarian applicants who posed as Jews in order to escape the economic crisis. Unlike elsewhere in Eastern and Central Europe, antisemitism in Bulgaria is virtually a non-factor when considering emigration. This Balkan nation, where Jews trace their roots back to the second century CE, has been relatively good to the mostly Sephardi community. Though Bulgarians were allied with the Nazis and imposed several anti-Jewish laws, they ultimately protected their 50,000 Jews. Bulgarians outside the country were another story, however. Bulgarian gendarmes operating in territory newly recovered from Macedonia and Greece rounded up and deported more than 11,000 Jews to Polish extermination camps. But when the communists took power in 1948, the Bulgarians allowed nearly 45,000 Jews to emigrate to Israel over a two-year period. The remaining Jews, like all Bulgarians, saw their private and communal property nationalized (about half has since been returned) and were discouraged from practicing religion. However, Sofia's main synagogue stayed open and the Bulgarian-language Jewish newspaper continued publishing, albeit under state control.



Albert Havdala, assistant editor of the 'Jewish News,' the only Bulgarian-language newspaper of its kind. After the communists took power in 1948, the newspaper was allowed to continue under state control. (Doron Bacher/ Courtesy of Beth Hatefusa)



In Sofia, family members say farewell to relatives prior to alyah. Bulgaria is said to have the highest rate of Jewish emigration in the world. (Doron Bacher/ Courtesy of Beth Hatefusa)

Today there is something of a community revival underway, despite the dwindling populace. Bulgarian Jews now operate their own grammar school, Sunday school and camps, thanks to individual and foreign donors like the JDC, the London-based World Jewish Relief, and the Jewish Community of Thessalonika, Greece. They've also restored Sofia's 88-year-old Sephardi synagogue. Last year the JDC also donated to the general population of 8.4 million Bulgarians, supplying nearly \$300,000 worth of medicine, baby formula and powdered milk to old-age homes and orphanages. Aside from picking up the slack for a cash-strapped government, the

charity was an investment of sorts. History has shown that where there's economic despair, Jews are traditionally fingered for blame, said Becca Lazarova, vice president of the Organization of Jews in Bulgaria. "If help only comes for Bulgarian Jews, and it becomes publicly known to other Bulgarians, there could be a wave of antisemitism," Lazarova said. "They can't understand why Jews from around the world are helping us, because there's no foreign policy regarding the Bulgarian diaspora." Community leaders also have their eye on other troubling developments. Within the increasingly popular political opposition, a coalition called the United Democratic Forces, there is a

small, right-wing faction that declares itself heir to the fascist World War II-era Bulgarian Legionnaires. And a recent article in a trade-union newspaper claimed that Israeli scientists had hatched the HIV virus to decimate the globe's population, paving the way for Jews to rule the world. Fortunately, Jewish community leaders note, Jews are practically invisible in Bulgaria's economic and political life. On the other hand, they remain a potent presence in science, academia and the arts. In fact, Bulgarian Jew Isak Passi, a philosopher, has been nominated for a 1997 Nobel prize. Still, with the economic tailspin only gaining speed, Jewish leaders also expect the "brain drain" and

graying of its population to continue. Eighty-five percent of the Israel-bound emigrants are highly educated and between the ages of 17 and 45, Konforti said. Some Bulgarian Jews, though, choose to ignore the bleak forecasts. Martin Cohen, 25, emigrated to Israel six years ago. But when he returned to Bulgaria in 1994, he was startled. "In Israel there's no need to preserve your Jewishness because there are Jews all around you; here we need to preserve our identity," said Cohen, who recently translated the Sabbath prayer book into Bulgarian and coordinated the country's B'nai Brith Youth Organization. "So whereas in Israel I was an Israeli, it was in Bulgaria I became a Jew."

Moroccan carpet co-op seeks to liberate women

The 20 women in the southern Moroccan village of Sidi Mokhar, 100 km from the walled city of Marrakesh, are packed in a small room, cheerfully making carpets on eight weaving looms. Their project started after a woman from the region, Fatima-Zohra Tamoh, who is teaching African history at Rabat University, thought a way was needed to help women earn their living and stop relying on a man for their existence. "I thought of making them responsible for themselves, to make them realize their fate lay in their hands," she said. It took her a long time to persuade the women that working in a cooperative would not demean them or raise their community's hostility. "The idea of working in a cooperative has a pejorative connotation. Only very poor people normally go there. I had to rely on friends and relatives to organize meetings with women to explain the way we wanted to work," she said. Not only local prejudice caused problems. Foreign buyers shunned Moroccan carpets after reports that little girls as young as six and seven often worked in appalling conditions, falling ill with rheumatism and pneumonia. "They often stood all day before a loom and earned only 60 dirhams [about \$7] a month," said Tamoh. "When I started three years ago, the women were very reluctant and I had to meet them more than 10 times before they agreed. Even then, some did not turn up the day we decided to start working but others replaced them." But there are still taboos over married women working and divorced ones are also fet-

tered by prejudices. The workers are all unmarried women at present. But the work has given them impetus for other things, said Tamoh. "About 67 percent of Moroccan women are illiterate, with the worst rate being in the countryside. The Education Ministry, trying to eradicate this, offers lessons which Tamoh's women took. "Being illiterate, this new activity triggered their willingness to learn writing and reading and they got their first identity cards," she said. "If we had more support and we could find export markets, we think of giving education on health, family planning, and open a kindergarten to encourage married women to work." Morocco's carpet industry, which has 45 cooperatives, has been hit by both the child labor row and poor quality. Carpet exports fell to 274.4 million dirhams in 1995 from 393.4 million in 1985, the Handicrafts Ministry said. "The government has moved to prevent children's labor but the decline in carpets is also due to the fact that German importers lost confidence in local producers who often bypassed them to make deals with retailers," a spokesman added, describing the Germans as the "bourse" of the carpet world. Tamoh blames both local producers and the authorities for the decline in quality. "It was first made of pure wool but gradually, with lax control of the authorities, it has come out with mixed products which have been avoided by foreigners." She insists on only pure wool being used in the cooperative which produces about 30 carpets a month, with four women taking about 20

days to produce a medium-sized carpet, three meters long and two meters wide. Each region has its own model, with carpets from Rabat's region and the Atlas Mountains the most popular. They sell for between 2,400 and 8,000 dirhams, but with workshop rent, electricity charges and wool, little is left. The women each get about 600 dirhams a month in pay. "So far we have only local buyers but they are not numerous. We have to organize exhibitions to make our products known and this also costs money." The ministry official said locally produced carpets were subject to control, being stamped in official categories ranging from extra superior, to superior, good and ordinary. "The good quality depends on the material used and also the number of knots per meter square, the color must stand the washing, the more knots there are per meter square, the better the quality is," he said. Extra superior quality costs between 800 and 2,000 dirhams per square meter and a superior one between 400 and 700 dirhams. Tamoh wants to prove Moroccan carpets can meet international quality standards and to help Moroccan women. She is an active member of a women's union which initiated the project, and said the women were now looking at setting up a fund to grant small loans to the neediest of them. "They already lend small sums to women," she said, "but once they have working capital, it will be possible to lend bigger amounts to the poorest people." (Reuters)

EARTHLY CONCERNS

Poverty plus starvation equals a vicious downward cycle

By D'VORA BEN SHAUL

Can there be a second "green revolution" in worldwide agriculture? And can it save the world from starvation? Many agronomists believe that there can be an effective revolution that will boost world food production and that this will make up for the rapid increase of the number of people to be fed. These agronomists believe that more fertilizers are the answer to the world's food problems. But Lester Brown, president of Worldwatch, a Washington-based environmental information service, believes otherwise. Brown, who was a part of the "green revolution" of the '60s that doubled worldwide food production, says that there cannot be a second such success story. Brown points out that not only have populations risen at an unprecedented rate but that we are running out of arable land and water for irrigation. Moreover, he says, most countries that would reap the benefits

of drastically increased food production are simply not economically able to afford the amount of fertilizers needed to make such a program possible. American and Canadian farmers use from 100 to 500 kilograms of nitrogen per hectare in order to get the bumper crops they usually enjoy. But in Asia, despite the much lauded "green revolution" only 30 kgs per hectare are used, in Latin America 15 kgs and in Africa only 4 kgs. Even this, says Brown, makes crop production too expensive to be available to the poorer people of the world and despite potential yields crops remain poor and, indeed, inadequate. There 800 million people in the world who are chronically undernourished and 200 million of them are under five years old. One-seventh of the people in the world do not have access to the available grain stores in any case because they are too impoverished to buy food. In an ideal world this would not happen, but the facts are that a second revolution would produce

a glut of food in Kansas but in Katmandu people would still starve because they lack the means to purchase either the fertilizers and water to grow food or the money to buy from the surpluses produced elsewhere. Although lip service is paid by most major organizations to the idea of sustainable agricultural self-sufficiency, Brown points out that in some areas the soil is so poor, the droughts so severe and the poverty so great that the people who live there are starving even in a world where food surpluses abound. It is poverty, not food scarcity that dooms these millions to starvation, says Brown. What we need is a world program against poverty because it simply doesn't matter how much food is grown in the world if many people have no access to it. Exactly how such a program could be implemented is not clear, but it seems fairly sure that unless there is such a program millions more will starve to death in the coming decade.

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CRITIC'S CHOICE

LIGHT THEATER

HELEN KAYE

Modest Gil Aldemá will be the center of attention at the celebration honoring his 50 years of musical output...



Cultural events from chamber music (above) to food culture will be covered on 'A Different Drummer'...

CLASSICAL MUSIC

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

Giuseppe Sinopoli, one of the leading opera conductors of our generation, leads the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra in three performances of Puccini's all-time favorite tearjerker, La Bohème...

TELEVISION

ELANA CHIPMAN

A Different Drummer is a new live cultural news program edited and hosted by David...

TV

CHANNEL 1

- 6:30 News flash
6:31 News in Arabic
6:45 Good Morning, Israel

EDUCATIONAL TV

- 8:00 Computers and the Internet
8:30 Spoken Arabic
9:00 Without Secrets
9:20 Nature
9:45 Programs for the very young

MIDDLE EAST TV

- 7:00 TV Shop
14:30 The 700 Club
15:00 Gerbert
18:25 Feature film
18:50 Family Challenge

CHANNEL 1

- 15:30 Motormics from Mars
15:50 Body
16:00 Dubish - live TV

ARABIC PROGRAMS

- 18:30 Sport
18:55 Ramadan program
19:00 News
19:30 News flash

CHANNEL 2

- 6:15 Today's Programs
6:30 Shekay and Geshem
7:00 Breakfast Magazine

CHANNEL 3

- 16:00 Cartoons
16:30 Yasin and Bahays
16:30 Panorama

CHANNEL 4

- 17:30 The Nanny
18:00 Hercules
18:45 Zingara, part 2

LIVES

- 17:30 The Nanny
18:00 Hercules
18:45 Zingara, part 2

MOVIE CHANNEL (4)

- 11:30 Absent Without Leave (1992) - a soldier goes AWOL to marry his sweetheart

DISCOVERY (8)

- 6:00 Open University: Looking for a Winner with Japan, Hayek, Freedom's Philosopher

CHILDREN (5)

- 6:30 Cartoons
9:00 Nils Holgersson
9:30 The Center of Things

JORDAN TV

- 18:00 Programs for Ramadan
18:30 Cartoons
18:50 Deep Water Haven

FAMILY CHANNEL (9)

- 8:00 Dallas
9:00 One Life to Live
9:30 The Young and the Restless

AVIV

- 11:15 Breaking the Waves
11:45 The Virgin Suicides
12:15 The Sandlot

ATZMON

- 17:30 Breaking the Waves
18:00 The Virgin Suicides
18:30 The Sandlot

HAIFA

- 18:00 Breaking the Waves
18:30 The Virgin Suicides
19:00 The Sandlot

PRIME TIME TV

Table with 8 columns (1-8) and 4 rows (19:30-23:00) listing TV programs like News flash, Local broadcast, Bottle, etc.

17:30 Shesh-Tus
18:00 Hugo
18:30 Loomy Toons

6:00 Frost's Century
7:00 The Best of The Ticket
7:30 Travel Xpress

22:00 Vincent, François, Paul and the Others (French, 1974)

6:00 Open University: Looking for a Winner with Japan, Hayek, Freedom's Philosopher

6:30 Cartoons
9:00 Nils Holgersson
9:30 The Center of Things

18:00 Programs for Ramadan
18:30 Cartoons
18:50 Deep Water Haven

8:00 Dallas
9:00 One Life to Live
9:30 The Young and the Restless

11:15 Breaking the Waves
11:45 The Virgin Suicides
12:15 The Sandlot

17:30 Breaking the Waves
18:00 The Virgin Suicides
18:30 The Sandlot

18:00 Breaking the Waves
18:30 The Virgin Suicides
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18:00 Breaking the Waves
18:30 The Virgin Suicides
19:00 The Sandlot



CRYPTIC CROSSWORD

Cryptic crossword puzzle with clues and grid.

SOLUTIONS

Solutions for the cryptic crossword puzzle.

QUICK CROSSWORD

Quick crossword puzzle with clues and grid.

MOVIES

Movie listings for various theaters including Jerusalem, Haifa, and Atzmon.

RADIO

Radio listings for various stations including BBC World, Eurosport, and Voice of Music.

General Assistance and Where To Go listings now appear on Page 9.

Kessar testifies in Yisraelovich case

Testimony supports accused

By RAINE MARCUS

Former transportation minister Yisrael Kessar testified for the prosecution against Artur Yisraelovich in the Histadrut fraud affair in Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court yesterday.

Yisraelovich was charged last year on five counts of theft, fraud and breach of trust, arising from his management of Kessar's 1992 Labor Party Knesset primary campaign, while the latter was the Histadrut's secretary-general. Although Yisraelovich, who was the Histadrut treasurer at the time, was not officially responsible for Kessar's campaign, he was de facto in charge of finances and had complete control of all income and expenses.

Yisraelovich is charged with asking Uzi Fassa (who later turned State's Witness in the case) to forge invoices to charge different Histadrut departments instead of directly charging Kessar's campaign division. He is also accused of paying over NIS 500,000 of Histadrut funds to two private investigators to organize surveillance on Haim Ramon, who ran in



Yisrael Kessar (Israel Sun)

have [full] faith in Yisraelovich." During his testimony, Kessar said that he had asked Yisraelovich and Avigdor Kahalani (who was at the time the head of the Amal trade schools) to take care of his campaign's finances.

"Since I had not dealt with financial affairs for a long time, I trusted Artur as I would myself - I had worked with him for 26 years ... and had never had a doubt that he would be involved in anything illegal, or what we would call improper management."

Kessar added that he was too busy to deal with gathering contributions for his campaign and left Yisraelovich in charge.

"I know that the accused is charged with offenses relating to my 1992 primaries," Kessar continued. "I cannot and will not believe any allegations, because I know him [Yisraelovich] for 27 years. But it was known that some of the party did not like him. I told the police that Artur would have to be stupid to do anything when he knew that certain people were out for his blood."

the Histadrut elections in 1994 against Kessar. Kessar also was questioned in the affair, but was never charged.

Although he appeared as a prosecution witness yesterday, his testimony supported Yisraelovich's denial of all charges.

"This is my first time in a court room," an excited Kessar said. "I

Schach admitted to intensive care

By JUDY SIEGEL

Ninety-nine-year-old Rabbi Eliezer Menahem Schach was admitted yesterday to Ichilov Hospital's intensive care unit and attached to a respirator after complaining of breathing difficulties.

The spiritual leader of Lithuanian haredim had earlier been rushed from his Bnei Brak home to the nearby Mayanei Hayeshua Hospital, which received special equipment from Ichilov and Assaf Harofeh Hospital to treat him.

He had lost consciousness for a short time, according to MK Avraham Ravitz (United Torah Judaism), and had developed a high fever, causing his son, Prof. Ephraim Schach, to rush to his home.

Ichilov spokeswoman Aviva Shemer said the breathing problems were due to complications of pneumonia that the aged rabbi had suffered a few months ago. After treatment, Schach was in stable condition, Shemer said.

She could not say when he would be discharged.



Rabbi Schach (Israel Sun)

When students at Bnei Brak's Ponevezh Yeshiva, which Schach headed until recently, heard of his illness, they began to recite Psalms.

Some took upon themselves a "word fast" (to refrain from non-holy speech).

PM candidacy bill sparks protest

By LIAT COLLINS

The private member's bill under which only Jews may run for the position of prime minister has met a storm of protest by MKs from both coalition and opposition parties.

The amendment to The Basic Law: The Government proposed by MK Michael Kleiner (Geshet-Likud) also stipulates that candidates for the premiership must have lived in Israel continuously for seven years prior to the election, an idea which was criticized sharply by members of Yisrael Ba'Aliya.

MK Azmi Bishara (Hadash), who recently said he might consider running for prime minister one day, responded to Kleiner's bill, saying, "It reveals openly antidemocratic opinions. I will continue to present my candidacy as a real alternative to existing policies. One of my aims is to expose attitudes like the one expressed by Kleiner."

Labor faction chairman MK Ra'anan Cohen described the bill as "racist, evil and discriminatory against Arab citizens, who have equal rights." Cohen said he will recommend Labor MKs vote against such a bill if it comes up in the plenum.

Yisrael Ba'Aliya faction chairman Roman Bronfman said, "The stench of racism, stupidity and worthlessness rises from Kleiner's bill. It represents only the fringes of Israeli society."

Yossi Beilin, a candidate for the Labor Party leadership, said he would submit a bill today requiring a two-thirds majority of MKs to pass amendments to the Basic Law: The Government that relate to who may run for prime minister. "Kleiner's bill is racist, and racism is foreign to us: It is contrary to Judaism and to the Israeli Declaration of Independence," Beilin said.

Knesset Speaker Dan Tichon rejected the bill out of hand. "Israel is a Jewish state, but it is also democratic, and all citizens have the right to submit their candidacy for the premiership. The right to vote and be elected, without regard to religion, sex, race or length of time spent in Israel, is a basic right. A bill like this might also lead to obstacles being put in the way of various sectors of the population running for the Knesset," Tichon said.

National Religious Party Secretary-General Zvulun Orlev said he opposes the bill as "harmful, redundant and causing strife between Jewish and Arab citizens."

MK Michael Goldman (Labor), former deputy education minister, said, "This bill is a serious attack on the basic values of democracy."

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Haifa 8-14 Tiberies 6-15
Afula 3-14
Samaria 3-8
Tel Aviv 7-14
Jerusalem 2-8
Beer Sheva 6-14 Dead Sea 9-17
Eilat 6-17

Forecast: Rainy. Snow in Hermon, might snow in the Golan and Gali mountains.

AROUND THE WORLD

	LOW	HIGH	COND.		
Buenos Aires	24	75	34	90	rain
Cairo	08	46	18	54	clear
Calgary	08	21	02	36	clear
Hanover	15	59	28	82	partly cloudy
Helsinki	05	39	02	32	cloudy
Houston	-12	10	-04	25	snow
Hong Kong	17	88	13	88	partly cloudy
London	05	39	18	64	partly cloudy
Madrid	08	59	28	82	cloudy
Moscow	06	43	15	59	partly cloudy
Montreal	-15	09	-07	19	clear
Munich	01	32	16	61	cloudy
New York	08	37	10	60	cloudy
Paris	01	32	16	61	cloudy
Rome	01	34	12	54	clear
Stockholm	-07	17	02	32	clear
Sydney	19	86	54	75	cloudy
Tokyo	02	38	08	48	cloudy
Toronto	02	33	01	34	cloudy
Vancouver	-03	27	03	37	clear
Zurich	-03	27	03	32	cloudy

Winning cards

In yesterday's daily Chance drawing, the winning cards were the 10 of spades, the jack of hearts, the ace of diamonds and the ace of clubs.



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Important Announcement to Investors in England!

The Investment Director of Grimley, the giant British firm with some 19 branches in Great Britain and throughout the world, will be available for working meetings in our offices in Israel between February 3 - 6, 1997. To set up a meeting, and receive an up-to-date market overview from one of the leading real estate experts in England, please call Mr. Rony Gozlan, Director of RESHEF International Division, at 02-653-65-65.

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NEWSLINE

with Prof. Claude Klein, a Hebrew University specialist in constitutional law.

MK Michael Kleiner (Geshet-Likud) is submitting a private member's bill which says that only a Jew can be prime minister and candidates for the premiership must have lived in Israel seven years continuously before nomination. Are there any other precedents for such legislation, other than the example of the US president, who has to be an American-born citizen?

When the Basic Law: The President was legislated some 30 years ago, the suggestion was made that only a Jew could be president of the State of Israel. The suggestion was rejected then and this suggestion should be rejected now on the principle that it is racist. The test must be whether we discriminate between different citizens.

In the case of the US, it relates only to the fact that the president must be American born. There is nothing racist in that.

Most of the opposition to Kleiner's bill is on the grounds of racism. The bill, however, is based on the Law of Return. Is this not saying that the Law of Return, too, is racist?

The Arabs undoubtedly do see it as racist, but we don't because we say this is a Jewish state and therefore give any Jew who wants to immigrate the right to do so. But at the same time, we say that anyone who has citizenship, whether he is a Jew or an Arab, has the same rights. The racist or discriminatory element of Kleiner's bill is that it differentiates between people who are already citizens and says that Arab citizens can't do certain things. This is, of course, unacceptable and scandalous.

Is there any chance that such a law could pass in the Knesset?

None whatsoever. Keep in mind that any amendment to the Basic Laws needs a majority of 61 MKs to pass.

The bill is, apart from anything else, a stupid one because in any case there is no chance an Arab is going to be elected prime minister.

Isn't the bill based on the fear that an Arab candidate will run for premier, knowing there is no chance of winning, just to force a second round of voting for the prime minister, during which the Arab sector will be able to make certain demands and play off the Jewish candidates in a form of political blackmailing?

Theoretically that could happen. But we cannot stop the Arabs from running and organizing themselves. Until now, the Arabs haven't voted for just one party. If anything is likely to make the Arabs get organized and do that, it will be this type of bill.

Do you also reject the clauses of the proposed bill which say that candidates must have lived here seven years continuously before the elections, ruling out new immigrants and returning Israelis?

I have no problem with returning Israelis being elected. A citizen is a citizen. If an Israeli citizen lives abroad for 20 years but wants to run for election here, I cannot stop him. I cannot differentiate between one citizen and another.

The question of immigrants is more difficult. It is worth considering the possibility that the right to vote not be given straightaway but after a year or so and that the right to be elected to the Knesset and even more so the premiership come into effect only after a certain period of say three, four or even seven years.

Liati Collins

Handwritten signature or note at the bottom of the page.